

by Harry E. Thomas  
and  
Stuart Gilman

**DEUTSCH:** I have done work on nationalism and, in so doing, I have generally tried to find out how people get moved into politics.

You see, as life becomes more modern, people move out of villages. They leave the village and come to modernity. They do so by moving into towns, taking jobs for money, and working for relative strangers rather than for people they have known from childhood. Or else, modernity comes to them. The villagers and the farmers begin to produce for distant markets; they begin to buy more things in stores. In either case, instead of working for close personal acquaintances they work with relative strangers. They don't know what to expect of them. And they need, therefore, increasingly, some ways of predicting what will happen. They need *instant familiarity*. Language and nationality is an engine for producing this instant familiarity. It's a substitute. If you are amongst strangers you will speak the same language, eat the same dishes, have the same views about culture, manners, and one hundred other things. These are your countrymen.

Americans would huddle together in the 18th century at the University of Edinburgh whether they came from North or South because they needed each other. And you get this experience in strange lands—you want *your* language, *your* countrymen, *your* friends.

The second aspect of modernization is that you shift from digging

#### from moving things to moving symbols

ditches and moving bricks to using words, using paper, pushing buttons, and throwing switches. In all these cases, you shift more and more from handling *things* to moving *symbols*.

As you shift from moving things to moving symbols you become more and more interested in *language*. You rarely hit an actual coal face in a mine or dig a ditch with your own hands. More and more, you work with other people. But, in order to work with people you need a language. Therefore, as the economy becomes more modern, language becomes more important, *not less*. The 19th Century illusion that economic progress would make nationality less important is quite false. It's based on a gross misunderstanding of technology. The opposite is true.

The third thing, the third process, that is at work is the *politicization of life*. When you live in a small village the quality of drinking water is a matter of your local spring or brook. No problem in the temperate zone. If the village becomes larger and you live in a hot country the question arises: "Can you get government credit for an artificial well?" And that becomes political. If you move to a town, even in the temperate zone, your water supply becomes a matter of politics. In a village, people can go behind a bush. In the city, sewage disposal becomes political again. The mud and the street pavements become political; the hospitals become political; and the old-age pensions, also—whereas in a village your neighbours or your family might help

#### everything is politics

you out. The air you breathe becomes political when air pollution becomes serious. That is to say, politics today becomes relevant for an ever larger sector of the population. It directly affects the personal life, the health, the well-being, the security of individuals.

Individuals become, therefore, politicized even if they don't know it. Sooner or later somebody is going to point it out to them. Or, they discover it by themselves. They then demand political services as well as responsiveness from their government, which becomes important to them. They then will actually *become* political—no longer potentially so, but *actually*. They will take part in meetings, in demonstrations, become union members, go on strike; they'll picket City Hall, they'll even vote. You get mass politics.

And again, they are very likely to band together with those whose language, culture, habits and predictability of behaviour corresponds to their own. So, you can predict in a serious sense that nationality and

# WARIL DEUTSCH ON NATIONALISM IN QUEBEC



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political participation will accelerate. You can measure these things. What I have described you can call *social mobilization*.

The quickest measure for this in many developing countries is the increase in literacy. Another measure is the increase in city dwellers. For most countries  $\frac{3}{4}$  of 1 per cent of the population shifts from illiteracy to literacy every year. Now, when I take the percentage of shift of the population, I am summing up a great many complicated factors. Some old illiterates die, some grown-ups learn to read and write, some pre-literates get old enough to go to school. This

adds up to the statement that "where there used to be 60.3 per cent literate people in the country the year before, there are now 61 per cent." The  $\frac{3}{4}$  of 1 per cent is a figure taken from the averages that say that about 7 to 8 per cent of the population or more become literate every decade. The figures come from about two dozen countries. But it is the median figure that is, if you take figures for 60 or 80 countries (which we have done) .7 per cent per year is the median average.

City dwelling is a little less fast. About  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1 per cent moves into cities in most countries each year. On

the other hand the mass media grow much faster. Radio, television, movies, etc. tend to acquire 1 to 2 per cent new audience each year, even more.

Voting in the last 10 to 20 years has tended to increase at 2 per cent a year so that in a decade over 20 per cent more will be enfranchised in many countries and will actually go and vote. You can, therefore, see that social mobilization (taking it as a median figure) works at between  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1 per cent and 1 per cent. That's fairly fast if you come to think of it.

The last thing is, this mobilization process brings people into situations where politics and language both are salient to them. The assimilation process will be the process in which people learn a new language. You can measure the rate of assimilation as the rate at which people shift from not speaking the predominant language to speaking it, whatever the dominant language is. (Americans inaccurately call the dominant language the "majority language" but that need not be the case at a particular place or time.) The idea of assimilation sums up a lot of processes.

Some people who didn't know the language die, some youngsters grow up and learn it, some grown-ups learn it. But the important point is that the assimilation rate tends to grow on the average only  $\frac{1}{10}$ th of 1 per cent per year. Plus or minus another sixth of 1 per cent. So if the assimilation moves very fast  $\frac{1}{4}$  of 1 per cent are learning the dominant language of the area, or shift to it. If it moves very slowly the assimilation rate becomes negative and the number of mono-linguists will increase. In French Canada, assimilation moved slowly until about 1930 or thereabouts, (possibly 1940) but in the last two or three

decades, the rate of mono-linguists has been increasing in French Canada. The assimilation rate is not even zero, it's negative in French Canada. That is to say more people grow up mono-lingually than learn English, while some of the older generation who are using English retire or die.

**REPORTER:** What about the number of people who move from French to English and drop the French?

**DEUTSCH:** There are fewer of those than there are new, French-speaking babies born in the countryside and, for that matter, in the French neighbourhoods in Montreal.

**REPORTER:** So the argument that the Nationalists or the Separatists use, that the French language is dying in Quebec, is not true.

**DEUTSCH:** To the best of my knowledge this is false. The typical difference is this. The Nationalist focusses his attention on the most visible and most favoured sections of the society. Do the shop windows of the elegant businesses feature his language? Is his language spoken at the better banks? Does the government use it? And then, it turns out that, for instance, the office of the foreign

#### english by day and french by night

office (External Relations in Ottawa) is said to be English by day and French by night (when the charwomen from Hull are coming over). You get that kind of thing. There are statistics which are collected by your Royal Commission showing that the higher you go in the ranks of government, the greater is the proportion of under-representation of French speakers. This seems true to a

stronger degree in the large corporations, particularly the American dominated ones, as well as the Canadian and British influenced ones. The banks too,—many other fields.

When I was in Quebec, in 1941, I was told that French-Canadians mostly studied Civil Engineering. I was at MIT then, so I was very interested. I said, "Why don't they study any other engineering? Are Habitants more gifted for bridges?" They said, "Not at all, but civil engineering is under the influence of local governments which will employ French speakers. Mechanical and electrical engineering is under private business which prefers English speakers."

I come from a country, Czechoslovakia, which has been torn apart by quarrel amongst nationalities. When you come from a family with TB you study respiratory diseases. I come from a part of the world that has been very seriously injured by nationalism. I wanted to know what had happened. I had a suspicion that this was not the last we had heard of nationalism. I published my first paper on European languages showing that there had been 14 established languages in Europe in 1800 and 30 in 1900. In my paper I suggested that more of this would happen, I sent a copy of it to Max Lerner who was then teaching at Harvard in the summer and he wrote me a lovely letter saying it was a very good article but that I should stop bothering about nationalism and didn't I realize that it was all over? So, you keep studying it and, eventually, when you are a professor, your students and their students teach you. That's when you really learn.

**REPORTER:** How do you assess the work of the Canadian Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism?

**DEUTSCH:** I think it has been very valuable. They have a great deal of descriptive material. They even have some excellent quantitative data, which, as far as I know, they have not published in order to not stir up controversy. But this is, to my mind, a serious drawback. The civil service mentality is not to tell the public the facts so as to avoid controversy. The only result then is that the public does get told—by the nationalist demagogue who distorts things

#### the heavens would not fall if truths were known

and produces a much worse picture. Canada is a fine and decent country. There is nothing, (even the most embarrassing figures one could imagine) that could really injure Canada. That is, even if it would turn out, (and I think it does) that there are very few French-Canadians in the high ranks of the civil service and that there is a long way to go—the heavens would not fall if these figures were known accurately. And, anyway, most French-Canadians know the facts or they probably have an exaggerated picture of them, so these figures could do no harm.

The Commission has done serious and good work and I can't understand the political pressures that are sometimes on people. I think everything ought to be published. There is often a fear of publishing these things in order not to give ammunition to the agitators of one or the other of the minority groups. But they will find ammunition anyway and it's better if they have ammunition based on truth than if they have something that is untrue.

**REPORTER:** Do you see regional nationalism becoming stronger?

**DEUTSCH:** In part it could be. There is one other thing which a lot of English-speaking Canadians have forgotten. The modern world is simply not what the world was like in

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# The ANATOMY

## of Academic

### DISCONTENT

By Bruno Bettelheim

While history does not repeat itself, and while the present situation in the United States is radically different from that of pre-Hitler Germany, some similarities between the present student rebellion in this country and what happened in the German universities to spearhead Hitler's rise to power are nevertheless striking. Politically, of course, the German student rebels embraced the extreme right, while here the dissenters embrace the extreme left, but what is parallel is the determination to bring down the establishment. In Germany the philosophy which gained the rebels a mass following was racist and directed against a discriminated minority (the Jews), while here the radical students intend to *help* a discriminated minority. This is an important difference, but it does not change the parallel that universities then and now were forced to make decisions with respect to the race of students, rather than on the basis of disregard of racial origin. To use only one example, German universities began to cave in when students coerced faculties to appoint professorships in *Rassenwissenschaft*; that is, professorships devoted to teaching the special aspects, merits and achievements of one race as opposed to others, rather than teaching the contributions to knowledge, whatever the origins of the contributors.

Professor Walter Z. Laqueur (*Young Germany*, Basic Books, 1962) says, "National Socialism came to power as the party of youth." Its cult of youth was as pronounced as that of Italian fascism whose very hymn was called "Youth" (*Giovinetta*). Hitler insisted all along that his movement was a revolt "of the coming generation against all that was senile and rotten with decay in German democratic society." Professor Peter Gay (*Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider*, Harper and Row, 1968) stresses the prevalence in pre-Hitler days of an ideology that pitted sons against fathers and insisted that the generations cannot understand each other, that they are deadly enemies; in short, an ideology that said exactly the same thing in this respect that our rebellious

created disorder which then was claimed to demonstrate that the establishment was unable to function, and hence had to be replaced by one based on their creed.

Having stressed these parallels, one must also recognize the vast differences between the present American student rebelliousness and that of pre-Hitler Germany. It is these differences which should permit us to work toward an entirely different outcome. If I read the signs of the time correctly, I do not think that the rebellious students in and by themselves are a serious danger to this country, although they are a real danger to the universities. The danger, I fear, is rather an opposite one: that the disgusting behavior of a very small group of students—the overwhelming majority of our students are sound and wish nothing more than to take advantage of the opportunities higher education offers them—will arouse a severe counterreaction, so much so that their leftist radicalism may lead to a fascist type of backlash. This is the greatest danger inherent in their efforts to create chaos. To prevent chaos, and in desperation—and the rebels do succeed in creating desperation—repressive measures might be embraced which would be dangerous to our democratic institutions. Because of this danger, student rebellions must be dealt with in the best interest of all society, including that of the rebelling students themselves. But they can be dealt with intelligently and constructively only if the measures adopted are designed to eliminate the causes of the widespread discontent.

To understand this discontent, one has to realize first that many more young people go to college today than ever before, and hence many more are much less prepared for it. Taking advantage of college and being satisfied with the experience, rather than being defeated by it, requires a considerable amount of self-discipline and a high degree of satisfaction with developing one's intellect. Present-day education, both at home and in school, teaches very little self-discipline compared to even very recent times. The expectation now is that education can hand over knowledge and skills, and nearly instantly; and there is a widespread feeling that if students do not do well in school, then this is the failing of the educational system, not the result of a lack of personal application. With each year in school, this feeling becomes stronger in those who do not do well academically. And with it, the system becomes the enemy which deliberately withholds from them what they believe it could so easily give; hence their hatred of the system.

To understand why pressures erupt in adolescence on a growing scale nowadays, and why society's controls seem to grow weaker, we must recognize that adolescent revolt is not a stage of development that follows automatically from our natural makeup. What makes for adolescent revolt is the fact that our society keeps the younger generation too long dependent in terms of mature responsibility and a striving for independence. Years ago, when formal schooling ended for the vast majority at the age of fourteen or fifteen and thereafter one became self-supporting, married and had chil-

dren, there was no need for adolescent revolt. Because while puberty is a biological given, adolescence as we know it with its identity crises is not. All children grow up and become pubertal; but by no means do they all become adolescents. To be adolescent means that one has reached, and even passed, the age of puberty, is at the height of physical development—healthier, stronger, even handsomer than one has been or will be for the rest of one's life; but to be adolescent also means that one must nevertheless postpone full adulthood long beyond what any other period in history has considered reasonable. And the educational experiences in home and school prepare well only a small minority of young people for such a prolonged waiting, for being able to control their angry impatience while waiting.

It is this waiting for the real life that creates a climate in which a sizeable segment of college students can at least temporarily be seduced into following the lead of small groups of militants. It seems to give them a chance to prove themselves as real men. Thus it is the empty wait for real life which makes for student rebellions. This can be seen from the fact that most of the rebellious students, here and abroad, are either undergraduates, are studying the social sciences and the humanities, or both. There are few militants among students of medicine, engineering, the natural sciences; they are busy doing things that are important to them: they are working in the laboratory and at their studies. It is those students who do not quite know what they are preparing themselves for and why, those students who sit around waiting for examinations rather than doing active work, who form the cadres of the student rebellion.

One example may stand for many. In a class I am presently teaching, a student who was close to the activists gave me, at first, a very hard time in class. Two months later he was one of my most interested, cooperative students. I asked him what happened. He answered: "A few weeks ago I got a job which interests me, and I also

began to be interested in my classes; that did it."

There are today far too many students in college who essentially have no business there. Some are there to evade the draft; many others are there out of a vague idea that it will help them to find better paying jobs, although they do not know what jobs they want. And many go to college simply because they do not know what better to do and because it is expected of them. Their deep dissatisfaction with themselves and their inner confusion is projected first against the university, and second against all institutions of society, which are blamed for their own inner weakness.

To make matters worse, our institutions of higher learning have expanded much too rapidly; under public pressure for more education for everybody they have increased enrollment beyond reason. The result is

#### AGONIES OF THE ANONYMOUS AND THE IMPERSONAL

classes which are too large, and which are often taught in our large universities by teaching assistants, some of whom, out of their own inner dissatisfaction and insecurity, tend to side with the rebellion. All this leads to the anonymity, the impersonal nature of student-faculty contacts, about which many students rightly complain. And since many of them are essentially not interested in the intellectual adventure, the knowledge which the faculty can convey to them is not what they want. What they do want, essentially, is group therapeutic experiences to help them to mature, to be secure, to find themselves. But since colleges are not mass therapeutic institutions, they disappoint the students where their greatest need lies.

Because of the vast expansion in numbers, moreover, the old methods to lend coherence to the college experience, and to offer students a life geared to the needs of late adoles-

#### NOBODY OVER THIRTY IS TRUSTWORTHY

students, who insist that nobody over thirty is trustworthy, say today. Then, as now, the student rebels were pictured as the new generation, disgusted with the complacency of their parents, fighting courageously for a better world. And what were then the mass media often depicted them as idealists, as young people concerned with the real issues of society. They were, in their time, the wave of the future. And leftist student activists in 1968 burned books they did not like in the same manner and at the same place—Berlin—as did Hitler's youthful followers in 1933.

Then, as now, these youthful followers of the extremists were anti-intellectual, resting their case on convictions based on their emotions. They were fascinated with violence. Their favorite technique was to disrupt meetings, not just because they were not to their liking, but more as a demonstration of their power; and they







cence, have disintegrated. This the fraternities and sororities used to do by offering group homes to ease the transition from family to society at large. But they no longer can contain the large proportion of students. The demand of some black students for separate black housing should therefore be understood, at least in part, as the consequence of their feeling lost in the anonymous mass of students. Indeed, most white students are similarly lost until they find themselves in their work and study experiences. The old rituals which enhanced student life and bound students both to each other and to their college—the football rallies, the homecomings—have lost most of their meaning and have been replaced by nothing equalling the excitement which the sit-ins and protests provide. The spirit of intimate comradeship—important as at no other time in life—that used to prevail in the fraternity house is now found by all too many students in their demonstrations, where they feel closely bound together, doing things which they deep down know they do also for the emotional satisfaction of simply being together, whatever high sounding issues they think are motivating their actions. Nor should the symbolic meaning of students invading the dean's or president's office, whether violently or non-violently, be overlooked; big in age and size, they inwardly feel like little boys, and hence they need to play big by sitting in papa's big chair. They want to have a say in how things are run, want to sit in the driver's seat, not because they feel competent to do so, but because they cannot bear to feel incompetent.

It is unnatural to keep large numbers of young people in dependency and attending school for some twenty years. This was the way of life for that small elite which always in the past went to universities, but never did they represent more than a small percentage of the youth population, the vast majority of which actively met life early and proved itself as men and women, as real and strong human beings. Now, however, the tremendous push to send everybody to college has brought into the university an incredibly large number of young people who do not find their self-realization through study, or through the intellectual adventure. Yet, still needing to find their early manhood, they try to change the university into something in which

#### NATION OF A YOUTH DEDICATED TO BELLIGERANCE

they can find it by engaging in an active, sometimes violent, battle against the existing order or all of society. Their victory would change the university into an institution no longer dedicated to the intellectual virtues, to the frontiers of knowledge, but dedicated, rather, to the belligerent reshaping of society; and this is exactly what the militants want—not to engage in study and research, but in political battles. The reason we didn't have student revolts of this kind and this scope before is partly because only those went to college who wanted to be educated, and partly because those students who had to put themselves through school proved their early manhood—at least to some degree—by the very fact that they could do so. I think many of the rebellious students today are essentially guilt-ridden individuals. They feel terribly guilty about all their advantages, including their exemption from the draft, which is a serious guilt. Unable to bear living with their inner guilt they try to destroy society or certain of its institutions rather than deal with it.

Since all too many students who now go to college have little interest, ability and use for what constitutes a college education, they would be better off with a high-level vocational education closely linked to a work program to give scope to their needs for physical activity and visible, tangible achievement. The complaint of many of these students is that nobody needs them. They view themselves as parasites of society, and therefore come to hate the society which they think makes them feel this way. Here we should learn from the communist

countries where studies are combined with work in factories and in the fields. This, I believe, would be a much better arrangement for those students who do not feel a deep commitment to the intellectual enterprise (that is, study and research), and those who are so committed will never constitute more than a relatively small segment of youth.

I would, in fact, urge the creation of a government program of a couple of years' duration—a civilian Peace Corps—in which young people would work on socially significant projects while earning pay for it, and simultaneously receive higher vocational training. After such service and training, only those who really wish to do so would enter the universities, while the rest would feel a much greater stake in a society they helped to rebuild; at the least, they would be well-prepared for permanent jobs. Such a program should be an alternative to the draft. Only those young men who volunteer should serve in the armed forces. And I am convinced that if every able-bodied person were required to serve two years in national service of some kind, there would be no scarcity of volunteers for the armed forces, particularly if military servicemen received advantages in pay or other special advantages at the end of their service. This would also eliminate the draft exemption of college students which, in connection with the war in Vietnam, is behind so much of the student unrest. *If I am exempt from service when others are not, I can live in peace with myself only if convinced this is a vile war.*

In calming the dissent that is so widespread on our campuses now, we should concentrate our efforts on separating the ready followers from the small group of rebellion leaders. Were it not for the widespread discontent, protest leaders would find a scant following, and if they should break the law without such followers, they could be readily dealt with. It is the mass following they can arouse because of the widespread malaise which alone makes them dangerous.

There has always been a small percentage of persons bent on destroying society and on fomenting revolution. In earlier generations there were the Wobblies; later there were the campus communists. But the present brand of campus revolutionaries, who are of anarchist and nihilist persuasion, are much more dangerous because they can point to success after success with their disrupting tactics. And nothing succeeds like success. Two hundred years ago Immanuel Kant warned that we shall never be able to control violence if it is rewarded. "It is far more convenient," he wrote, "to commit an act of violence, and afterwards excuse it, than laboriously to consider convincing arguments and lose time in listening to objections. This very boldness itself indicates a sort of conviction

of the legitimacy of the action, and the God of success is afterwards the best advocate."

The greatest danger presently, then, is the readiness with which violence is excused, and the seemingly convincing arguments which are brought forth to justify it before and after the act. Worst and most dangerous of all, there seems to be a tendency in our society to legitimize the results of violence so that, as Kant put it, the God of success afterwards serves as advocate for the violent action that preceded it, and suggests its future use. On our campuses, those committed to violence (to quote Kant again) "lose no time on considering arguments, or on listening to objections." They refuse to be rational about their grievances and, by violent means, insist on having their way, no matter what. And if they get it, as Kant knew, their success then legitimizes their disruptive actions.

The rebels gain their success by arousing a sizeable number of students through the tactic of confrontation, and by the universities' fear of confrontation. Confrontation has one important aim—to use the reaction of the provoked to generate a new unity among the demonstrators. In its most direct form, militants have stood in front of policemen and denounced them as pigs until the men in uniform hit out. The art of demonstrating then lies in ensuring that the blows are directed against the less-committed demonstrators and, if possible, against completely uninvolved persons. This provides the mass following required for success.

Of the small group of leaders of the radical left, it has been observed that most come from well-educated, very liberal families. Of those whom I know, I would say, too, that they have had their intellectual abilities developed very highly at much too early an age, at the expense of their emotional development. Although often very bright, emotionally some of them remained fixated at the age of the temper tantrum. It is discrepancy between great intellectual maturity and utter emotional immaturity which is so baffling, often even to the universities, where some members of the faculty fail to see behind the obvious intelligence the inability to act rationally, and most of all, the inability to act responsibly. It is one of the weaknesses of university professors that, as persons committed to value intellectual ability most highly, they are captivated by the intelligence of these students to the degree that they are ready to excuse or brush aside the students' disruptiveness and intellectual arrogance.

As for the discontented students themselves, psychologically I always found them hating themselves as intensely as they hate the establishment, a self-hatred they try to escape by fighting any establishment. They need

help in overcoming their emotional difficulties, and punishment is hardly the answer. If we bring them to the universities, we should provide facilities for helping them. It is their emotional immaturity that explains both their call for immediate action, and the retreat of the dropout and the hippy into utter non-action; each masks the inability of very intelligent young people to take time to think things out. The militants must want to destroy the universities because they do not want to be students, for to be a student means to prepare oneself to do something more worthwhile in the future. The militant student's cry is for action now, not preparation for action later. In this sense, he is no longer a student at all, since he clearly rejects knowledge as a precondition of meaningful activity. Truth, moreover, is no longer sought but "revealed"; the contempt for free speech and free thought is demonstrated as much by his actions as by his words. Were he ever to capture the university, it would cease to be a university.

In their inability to delay action for thought, both right and left extremists, the militants of all colors, are brothers under the skin. This is among the reasons why historically it has happened before that the young followers of the extreme right have become those of the extreme left, or the other way around. The mainspring of the rebels' action is more their wish to prove themselves strong—and less any particular political conviction—superimposed on self-doubt and hatred of a society which they feel has left them out in the cold. In Germany the National Socialists and the Communists voted together and worked together to bring down the democratic Weimar government, and in the same context, it is not so surprising that former Nazis easily involved themselves in the communist government of East Germany.

#### SONS EMBRACE THEIR FATHERS' LUNACY

But there are also good reasons why it is mainly the children of leftist parents who become hippies or student revolutionaries in our society, just as in other places and other times the children of conservative parents, under similar emotional conditions, spearheaded rightwing radicalism. It was the children of conservative German parents, for example, who first embraced the Emperor's War and enthusiastically went to their death because they felt a need to lay their bodies on the line for ideas their parents had only lukewarmly held; for thus they proved themselves strong, while at the same time proving their parents weak, wishy-washy and unworthy of true respect. They felt, too, that this was a means of rebirth, a way to revitalize an ossified society, to create a new society; with little patience for the voice of reason, they asked for authenticity and confrontation. All these were the main tenets of Hitler's academic youth, as they are now those of our own student left.

Thus, while the emotional constellations which make for very different student revolts are strangely similar, the specific political content of a student revolt depends to a large degree on the beliefs of the students' parents. For in many ways rebellion represents a desperate wish by youth to do better than their parents in exactly those beliefs in which parents seem weakest. In this sense, rebellion also represents a desperate desire for parental approval, but even more it represents a desperate wish that parents had been stronger in their convictions. So many of our radicals embrace Maoism and chant "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh" much as another generation chanted at football rallies. These are strong father-figures with strong convictions who powerfully coerce their "children" to follow their commands. While consciously the students demand freedom and participation, unconsciously their commitment to Mao and other dictatorships suggests their desperate need for controls from the outside, since without them they are unable to bring order into their inner chaos. Such controls, however, must not be imposed punitively, nor for the benefit of others. They must be controls that clearly and definitely benefit

the individual, so that he will eventually make them his own.

The inability of militant students to wait and work hard for long-range goals marks them as emotionally disturbed; so does their hatred for their parents who failed to give them direction and set them against the world by exposing their immature minds to criticism of all that could have given meaning to their lives. Indeed, it is their hatred of society that makes it so easy for the militant student leaders to make common cause with another small group that provides temporary leadership for some of the rebellions outright paranoid individuals. The proportion of paranoids among students is no greater than in any comparable group of the population. But they are more dangerous because of their high intelligence, which permits them to conceal more successfully the degree of their disturbance. And student revolt permits them to act out their paranoia to a degree that no other position in society permits. How understandable, then, that all paranoids who can, do flock into the ranks of the militants. Unfortunately, most non-experts do not know how persuasive paranoids can be, at least until they are recognized. The persuasiveness of a Hitler or a Stalin is now regarded as the consequence of his own paranoia and his unconscious appeal to the vague paranoid tendencies among the immature and disgruntled. I have no doubt that the ranks of today's militants contain some would-be Hitlers and Stalins.

Paranoids make a persuasive appeal to any group in the population which rightly or wrongly feels persecuted, and they seek out such groups because they are most likely to view their own paranoia as true understanding of a persecuted group's particular predicament. Which brings me to the special problems of some of our black students who, fortunately, seem to recognize more and more that SDS is using them rather than helping them. (They are not quite as successfully seeing through the motives of some of the paranoid student leaders.)

The overwhelming majority of black students desires exactly the same as does the overwhelming majority of white students: a rightful place in society. Only a very small minority of black and white students wishes to destroy it. Thus if the blacks could be convinced that there is a good place for them in society, their attitude would change and they would part ways with SDS, as many of them have already done. But the difficulty is that many black students, because of the nature of the commitment of the university, do not feel that being a student is necessarily the best way for them to find their rightful place in society. It is here that our wish and theirs, that they should become part of the elite, runs afoul of what for many of them is their reality. Many black students in our colleges are often ill-prepared academically and lacking in the skills required for academic success. At the same time, they have been imbued with the notion that it is the fault of the establishment that they are disadvantaged. While this is true to some degree, awareness of such truth offers

#### THE BLACKS SUFFER AN INFERIOR PREPARATION

an easy way out if one does not succeed. All students find the transition from home to college difficult. In past times the student placed the blame for this on himself, and most students therefore tried to do something about themselves and sooner or later succeeded. Today both white and black students tend to blame the faculty for the difficulties they encounter in adjusting to a different way of life and study. The demand for black-study programs originated, not only in the justified feeling that one must be familiar and proud of one's own background, but to a large degree in the feeling that such studies would be easier, and that the faculty would have greater understanding.

The fact is that the preparation of some black students who are induced to go to college is inferior to that of the white majority of the college population. While the faculty is ready to make allowances for this, compensation runs counter to the self-respect of

the black student, who rightly does not wish to be treated as a second-class citizen. But if he cannot compete successfully with his fellow students who have had so many educational and social advantages, he is in a terrible conflict. Brought to college to do as well as the others, when he fails his background does not permit him to accept the fact of failure because of his lack of preparation; to do so would make him feel second-class, a position he is seeking to escape by obtaining a college education. Although intellectually able, he has difficulty in adjusting, and he comes to feel that the very place which promised to make him equal fails to do so. Disappointed, he rages against the institution which once more makes him feel inferior, and special programs of assistance only make his feelings of inferiority even deeper. The many black students who are well able to hold their own with the best feel they must not desert their fellow black comrades, and in times of protest, they make their comrades' burden their own.

There is today a fascination in society with sex and violence, with drugs and insanity, which both influences the student militants and provides them with a noteworthiness which they exploit to the full. If students protest in an orderly and rational fashion, they receive little public attention. But if they shed their clothes and walk around naked, this makes news all over the nation, whatever case they may or may not have had; it is part of a dangerous fascination with youth and its extreme positions. What passes for modern literature which these youngsters read in junior high school intoxicates their minds with the appeal of drug-induced madness, with sexual acting out and with violence.

The universities, because of their intellectual prestige, give the student activists a platform for their revolutionary claims which they otherwise would never have. For example, for days not more than some twenty to thirty students recently occupied the administration building of the University of Chicago. They got headlines every day and were prominently featured on radio and television. Had thirty people demonstrated in any other place, they would have received no attention whatever. This SDS knows, and this is why it aims at the universities. The contrast between an institution devoted to the highest achievements of reason, and the obscenity and violence perpetrated there, makes it all the more fascinating, a fascination on which SDS tries to build its revolutionary success.

An idea in itself may amount to next to nothing, but it becomes news by interfering with something else which is considered to be of public importance. In themselves, a couple of hundred demonstrators somewhere in New York or Chicago would amount to very little; but when fifty students march into a lecture hall, seize control of the podium and broadcast their claims and philosophy to people graves (as the Fugs did), or if a few girls dress up as witches and put curses on professors (as they did in Chicago), if they did so without reference to politics, people would rightly wonder about their sanity. But when they do



**there will**



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ER. If the issues at McGill are as serious as you have pointed out, then the fact that there has been a little direct action here compared to other universities is serious. There's hardly been any violence at McGill, which is quite surprising when you consider that the United States, especially in the West, has been hit very hard. Is it possible that McGill is, in some sense, "better" than these other universities?

**GRAY:** In terms of the degree of activism, it's true that, compared to American, French or German universities, it has been comparatively small here. In terms of direct action, even Quebec universities, it has been big. Occupation in 1967, police called in, the Political Science students' strike, the number of meetings of the Board of Governors and other things in January. Of course, compared to American universities, it is relatively small. I would attribute that to the nature of the McGill student body, to the nature of the constituency here in terms of society as a whole.

Here you have a rare case of a student body in a colonial context, the student body being of the privileged class. The French majority in the underprivileged sector, the working class. Both factors exert an extremely conserving influence upon the student body. This you don't find in other universities.

It is true for example that in American universities, French universities,

## Stanley Gray

British universities, most students are from the middle class, but here they're not only from the middle class but also from the minority, which is a dominating national elite. Faced with the fact of the French majority, McGill students tend to be far more conservative than other students. Now, in terms of the seriousness of the issues, that remains true even though the McGill student body taken as a whole has not acted upon the fact that it is, they are acted upon by the vast majority of students in Quebec society as a whole. Operation McGill on March 28 was one example of this.

But even in terms of comparability, the difference is not that McGill is different from the rest of the world. The fact is, it is wrong to undertake war contracts, to do research for the war in Viet Nam, to contribute to exploitation in society—how it can't be done. Since some members of McGill University may have contracts with war departments, since some of them may be doing that kind of contract research, wouldn't they then be forced either to relinquish their government subsidies or to do their work elsewhere?

**GRAY:** Firstly, the university as a whole does have a position, does have commitments in certain ways. The fact that these positions are not explicitly

## VIETNAM! QUEBEC!

stated doesn't imply that they don't exist. You can go through such factors as where research funds come from, for example—there are no funds to do research for the National Liberation Front of Viet Nam, by the way. There's a hell of a lot of money from the American State Department. Yeah, you go through examples of this sort and you'll see that McGill does have a certain committed political position, that it is definitely on the side of the establishment, in terms of who pays for it, in terms of who controls the university, the Board of Governors and things of this sort. It manifests itself in its teaching, in the decisions taken by its governing bodies which are always in a certain way.

Now, the same thing would be true of a critical framework, it would have a certain view, a certain orientation. But this time, it would be consciously chosen by the majority of its members in a democratic way. Right now, you know there's a lot of mystification. They tell you they're pluralist and not committed in any way but in fact they are and they hire a faculty with real commitments. Secondly, a critical university would

## FREEDOM! FREEDOM!

of the debate and a diversity of activities in the university, it is absolutely essential that each member be free to undertake his own work and that he be free to express any ideology. That it is, in fact, the university's position taking that is maintaining freedom of dialogue and freedom of action—research action and education action, not of course, direct action.

**GRAY:** You're putting it in a little more sophisticated form than they would.

**REPORTER:** No, it would take that form. You can't cut it both ways. You can't have "freedom" and a university body like Senate taking positions. For example, Senate took a position when McGill University submitted a brief to the B & B Commission, it takes positions when it, historically, tacitly, supports war efforts of the Canadian government; it takes positions by the nature of the Institution.

By every decision it makes, it takes a definite, reactionary position. By refusing to oppose the status quo in all kinds of explicit ways it does support the status quo. It's a lie; they do take positions. You analyse how the Ford Foundation or the Canada Council allocate research funds and they do give funds to certain projects and not to others and the search funds they do make choices and they do give funds to certain projects and not to others and the criteria are obvious.

**REPORTER:** How about the following argument? The university is dependent on the government and the government reflects or possesses the same qualities as the university. Can the university survive outside the framework of Quebec government and the government change in the ways you are suggesting without a revolution taking place in Quebec as a whole? Can efforts directed at McGill University (McGill University as a product of neo-capitalist society with its social-democratic government and dependent on it) be fruitful?

**GRAY:** Your presentation of the relationships is wrong. It's not that the government controls McGill, therefore... It's that McGill controls the government and the giant Anglo-American corporations which in turn also dominate McGill and of which McGill is symbolic. That's number one.

**REPORTER:** The Board of Governors may represent a majority of the ruling class efforts in Quebec society. This doesn't necessarily imply that McGill is their parliament, their legislature.

**GRAY:** The effect of what you are saying is that the only thing worth fighting about is total revolution, not any intermediate changes, demands, or anything else. Of course the way to change a revolution completely is to have a revolution as a whole. However, these intermediate targets, upon, one must choose one must act. McGill isn't merely a symbol of power, it has a factual, not a symbolic effect on the people of Quebec as a whole. It does have influence and therefore it can change that any so-called movement engages in partial struggles at different times and it's in the plan or in the time for total revolution action against McGill of the type we've had is perfectly valid and justifiable.

**REPORTER:** Then I assume that your efforts against McGill are part of a much larger effort, with the philosophic and political priorities relating to total revolution.

**GRAY:** It's one part of one aspect of the movement as a whole which acts in intermediate struggles and

## CAPITALISTS! COMMUNISTS!

general struggles as well. McGill is simply one part because it is a key element in that power structure in the colonial-capitalist situation in Quebec.

And so, you struggle against McGill. We engage in different struggles against different targets and enemies which are not symbolic but who are real enemies, who have real power, who really oppress people. Revolution, in fact, is made up of the continuous struggles of people in their milieu against their particular enemies. As time goes on it becomes more generalized, a unified force which fights at a political level and a particular level as well.

**REPORTER:** And we shall reach a point of violent overthrow of the ruling forces in the end?

**GRAY:** Of course.

**REPORTER:** Turning to the arbitration committee, and now many people claim that at the conclusion of the legal arbitration, after they

it that way, but even then it would not be right. He has a totally authoritarian mental set which is incredible even among reactionary university administrators. The same structure of arguments was used by their lawyers, their St. James street lawyers, in their final arbitration. Even the arbitration committee was forced to repudiate and criticize them. Those are the reasons I accepted the arbitration in the first place. Now, about a third of the way through the process, it was clear to me, and I stated it in a ten page protest statement that I gave in there, that the arbitration committee had already made up its political mind in

The C.A.U.T. code was devised for non-political questions, contract disputes, someone not getting enough pay, that kind of stuff. Number two, why should they be from outside the university community? I demanded that if any committee was set up, it should be with McGill students and staff and outsiders as well, that it would not be impartial to the political differences.

I accepted the committee anyway for the following reasons. First, one implication of accepting arbitration is that it cools things down into a political issue on campus, which I wanted. It was a secondary issue of not too much importance to me whether I stayed at the university or not. I was involved in organizing, at full blast, Operation McGill. I did not want to waste my time on McGill campus.

Second, the Stanley Gray affair, as such, was insignificant in comparison to Operation McGill. One person being fired.

Third, it was becoming, unfortunately, a very personalized affair. The media, the way the administration handled it, it was "Stan Gray versus the administration". This detracted from the political content of the issue. This is always, always, the administration's game: focusing on discipline and individuals to detract from the political challenge, the critique, which is presented to them. The debate then

became "should Stan Gray be fired or not?" Not whether a critical university or McGill Français was correct or not.

Furthermore, I didn't want to stay at McGill University anyhow. I didn't matter to me since I intended to resign. Also, I thought through the arbitration we could do a good deal to expose, de-mystify, the university administration. For example, read the article in the McGill Reporter by Stuart Gilman on this—the televised negotiations we had. They systematically refused to answer any political questions, any political challenge or even to defend themselves. Whether they were incapable of doing so or whether they don't want to, what's the difference?

Unfortunately, the committee had similar cretinous minds as the administration didn't happen too much except for two points. One, the administration never, never gave any political defense in terms of the substantive attitude of McGill University, its policies, its business in Quebec. Either they were incapable of doing so, or they refused to do so. Two, we did have a very good indication of their substantive attitude in an implicit way.

For example, the testimony of Mr. Robertson. A number of times he stated very clearly that in his opinion no circumstances anywhere, anytime, under any conditions, could justify any direct action even under slavery. He said that under slavery, direct action could be understandable. In a paternalistic sense he could analyse

it that way, but even then it would not be right. He has a totally authoritarian mental set which is incredible even among reactionary university administrators. The same structure of arguments was used by their lawyers, their St. James street lawyers, in their final arbitration. Even the arbitration committee was forced to repudiate and criticize them. Those are the reasons I accepted the arbitration in the first place. Now, about a third of the way through the process, it was clear to me, and I stated it in a ten page protest statement that I gave in there, that the arbitration committee had already made up its political mind in

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# the revolution

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Donna H. Brown



## revolution continued

the question, had made a political decision about what can justify direct action, and as far as the case was concerned, they had already made up their minds on that question on political grounds and were using their implicit decision (which they refused to state) to refuse to allow me to present proof to support my political case.

They responded to my statement, saying that they were there to make an impartial decision, irrelevant to the question of "democracy", Québec and everything else. They consistently held that it was not a political case. But what is really shocking about the report which I (even with my low opinion of those guys) didn't expect them to do, never expected them to have the audacity to do—after having systematically prevented me from presenting evidence on all political points, including what kind of support on campus there was for our demands, they had the audacity in the final report to say Mr. Gray did not submit proof to us sufficient to show he had support, etc.

Well, the reason I didn't submit any proof was because they didn't allow me to submit proof. I said then, and it was proven in the report that they were making a political decision of a certain sort in this case.

I'm not objecting to a political decision being made. I'm saying that they should have allowed us to argue about the political positions and to see that there are alternatives to their arguments here.

There was absolutely no due process, justice, nothing of that sort. It was a politically biased committee from the start. Narrow minds, narrow views, prepared to accept only one possible kind of argument. Politically, even refused to allow us testimony about how the due channels had been used in the last year (the only justification they dogmatically stated they were prepared to accept.) And then, in the final report confirmed what we believed in the first place. That is why I say the whole thing was a farce.

I don't see what we were doing there. The only kind of evidence that they allowed was on irrelevant points—who was here, what time, who burped at who, what resolutions were passed on what date. All irrelevancies were admitted with them saying that they were the relevancies. But, in the end, they made their decision on other questions.

For example, when I was being interrogated by the committee itself, 9/10 of the questions they asked were straight political questions about Opération McGill. They asked questions on the English minority in Québec, about support, about Marxism, about the critical university. In other words, about everything that obsessed them. They were reacting to me as a political animal claiming that it was not a political case.

**REPORTER:** Their claim was that they were trying a case with respect to three separate incidents in which you were allegedly involved. One can also legitimately say that since they were lawyers they could not operate under any other framework in any case. Even if they allowed you to present evidence on a wide range of political issues, to debate and discuss them would never have convinced them anyway. So, in effect, what difference would it have made?

**GRAY:** Oh, no. I couldn't convince them of my position. Theoretically, it is possible to convince them. Practically, not. Practically, I hoped they would have the coolness and the academic impartiality at least, or the intellectual integrity to look at the facts themselves and say, "In spite of the fact that he is a Marxist, whatever his intentions, the facts themselves indicate that these were very small, minor, significant actions, particularly in comparison to other campus revolts. What the administration hates him for is for radical demands about McGill Français, etc." I thought they would at least have the coolness to understand this. The decisive factor in the decision, stated on the second to last page of the report and stated by Morel to me, was that I said I would continue to engage in direct action; i.e., if I promised to be a good boy in the future, I wouldn't have been fired. Firstly, I'm being penalized for my future intentions, not for my past acts (contrary even to the bourgeois legal tradition these guys worship), and secondly, it's clearly and crudely a partisan decision designed to protect the Mc-



Gill Administration politically in the future.

**REPORTER:** Presumably, there will be some kind of move in the fall to protest you're being fired.

**GRAY:** There might be. Inasmuch as it is a political question, as it's not a personal "Stan Gray affair" but a political question around me being fired, there might be. Inasmuch as they want to get me back—I don't want to go back to McGill. I stated that I intended to resign anyhow. I don't intend to fight in that sense. I wouldn't fight it in any sense.

**REPORTER:** Just for political profit you wouldn't say, "I don't want to be fired, I want to teach at McGill and I intend to keep doing things until I am reinstated?"

**GRAY:** But why should I be dishonest and lie. I was honest, clear and open, as is the whole radical movement. We don't believe in mystifying and confusing the people.

The truth is that there is no progressive future, no hope of progressive change in the English community and that is true for the majority of McGill students at the present time. At the moment, to remain in the English community is absolutely insane. Any person who is a radical or who is committed to an anti-capitalist, anti-colonialist position has to leave.

I have been working since March in the French community as an integrated member. To me this is a priority and it's the only logical place for a person with any kind of radical analysis and commitment to the liberation in Québec to be.

**REPORTER:** By the way, how do you feel about the fact that the arbitration cost a great deal of money?

**GRAY:** It cost the administration not particularly much. I mean, it did cost a great deal of money. First of all, my good friend Bob Shaw told me yesterday (when I asked him a few questions about my salary next year) that it cost \$5,000 a day, times 20 days. \$100,000. But it cost them more than that because their St. James street lawyers charged a fortune, and they had to work before, during and after that. It cost more than \$100,000.

I don't take any pleasure in it because it is diverting money away from a lot of needy sources. Inasmuch as it's taking money away from reactionary uses to which the administration would put, fine. Inasmuch as it draws \$100,000 away from a lot of socially useful purposes, it is bad.

It just shows that they are prepared to go to great lengths to fire a person for political reasons.

**REPORTER:** Do you think that the proceedings that were used in your case will be used again?

**GRAY:** No. Well, that's hard to say. There are factors on both sides. It's costly. They don't want to spend so much money on it and they still instinctively distrust academics and professors. They can't rely upon professors to fire professors for political reasons and political actions. To the extent that they did manage to fire me the thing works and therefore they may use it again. Also, the basic thing why it suits them is because it's depoliticizes the issue.

**REPORTER:** Do you think that there is a way by which McGill University can absorb or accommodate the pressures from French Québec?

**GRAY:** No. Because the basic pressures are for a French university that is integrated into Quebec society. To do that you would have to abandon the whole basis of the institution as it exists, which is as a service station to the big Anglo-American corporations, a service station to the English minority and the English community and to the English in Canada and the United States. And, of course, this

whole orientation is anti-French, anti-Québec, anti-popular.

It won't even make any concessions because it doesn't believe in them. I think the attitude now in administrative circles and, in general, in the English ruling class is that "we are on the brink of chaos, anarchy, revolution, we can't be flexible. If we make concessions, they'll want more, take a principled stand, refuse concessions, take a hard line".

**REPORTER:** You don't believe in the "liberal deathwish"? That administrators will undertake certain "good" and "right" ideas which will generate actions or will result in a state of affairs which is contrary to things they presently want?

**GRAY:** First, they aren't liberals. Second, sure they may be forced to make concessions. They may be forced against their will. The point is that liberals try to manage this process and try to get a jump on their opponents and make concessions, total concessions. But these guys aren't liberals at all.

**REPORTER:** Which guys?

**GRAY:** McGill administration. There's no one in there who's a liberal now. People who used to be liberals are no longer such.

**REPORTER:** You think that we will have a mini-revolution at McGill?

**GRAY:** McGill will fight to the end like any ruling class fights to the end, including the use of arms, coercion and institutionalized violence. It's part of the whole social revolution that's taking part in Québec. It inevitably will result in force. Any basic conflict of classes results in force. To the extent that McGill will become French, it will be part of the socialist independentist revolution in Québec as a whole.

Stanley Gray is an active Marxist residing in Montreal. He was a lecturer in Political Science at McGill University until his dismissal in August 1969 for gross misconduct.

## DIARY OF DISMISSAL

Compiled by the Staff of the Reporter

**MONDAY, JUNE 6, 1967.** Letter to Stanley Gray, studying at Oxford.

"Dear Mr. Gray, I am pleased to inform you that the Board of Governors, under the terms of the University Statutes, and subject to the Tenure Regulations, has approved the recommendation of the Principal, that you be appointed lecturer in the Department of Economics and Political Science for year commencing September 1st, 1967 at an initial salary of \$600 per month."

J. H. Holton  
Secretary of the Board of Governors.

**SEPTEMBER, 1967.** Stanley Gray returns to teach political theory at McGill.

**NOVEMBER, 1967.** Gray, Chairman of SDU (Students for a Democratic University) joins in occupation at the Administration Building.

**DECEMBER, 1967.** James Mallory, Political Science Chairman, informs Gray that his contract is of two years duration.

**MONDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1968.** Some 10,000 CEGEP students and supporters march out through the Roddick gates, waving the banners "Pouvoir Étudiant" and "Education, Not Suppression."

All through the month tension rises in Gray's own department over the issue of student participation in departmental decision-making, including the area of hiring and firing.

**THURSDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1968.** For the first time in McGill's history students sit on Senate. Their request to give the issue of Quebec education top priority (in view of the CEGEP occupations) is refused. The students give notice of further motions on student housing, collegial studies, the grading system, and other current issues.

**SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1968.** Faculty of Arts and Science closed meeting is "opened" by a group of students accompanied by Stanley Gray.

**WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1968.** A student motion in favour of a critical university is defeated by 54 votes to 7. Gray's support for a critical university is well known on campus.

**MONDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1968.** Political Science students strike and occupy the Political Science offices on the fourth floor of the Leacock Building. Stanley Gray supports them.

**DECEMBER, 1968.** The PSA strike ends with representation for the students on a number of departmental committees, including the Appointments Committee. At the same time Gray's contract is renewed for 1969-70.

**FRIDAY, JANUARY 24, 1969.** Senate nominating Committee meets in closed session. Thirty-five students, along with Stanley Gray, request that the committee hold their proceedings in the "open." After the students' withdrawal, the Nominating Committee votes to hold open meetings in the future, and adjourns.

**MONDAY, JANUARY 27, 1969.** McGill's Board of Governors holds its first formally "open" meeting. The "Socialist Action Committee" (in which Gray is a key figure) and the "27th of January Committee" circulate leaflets urging all interested students to "confront the Board of Governors today." Two basic demands are formulated.

"Demand 1: That the student co-op be financed by part of the Board of Governors' \$100 million Investment Fund."

"Demand 2: That the Faculty of Management be abolished, and the



site of the proposed Management Building be allocated to the housing co-op."

Gray is present at the meeting, along with some two hundred students. Three of the students ask that certain issues be placed upon the agenda; the Board refuses and adjourns to the strains of "Pouvoir Ouvrier."

**THURSDAY, JANUARY 30, 1969.** Students' Council meeting tables a motion endorsing the existence of the Faculty of Management, while twenty-five faculty members, fearing reprisals against Wednesday's protestors, meet with Principal Robertson to discuss a special Senate meeting called for the weekend "to deal with disruption in the University."

**SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1969.** After a four-hour debate on "disruption of university business," Senate passes a motion:

"Senate, while believing that recent disruptions of various meetings were not justified, resolves to continue its examination of the large issues before the University, and appeals to all members of the University to act with good faith and reason."

A student senator motion that Senate should discuss recommendations to the Board of Governors and method of selection of Deans, is defeated; senators move to adjourn. Senate adjourns with protests from the student senators.

**WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1969.** Senate refuses to hear the RSA's (Radical Students Alliance) programme read out. The Nominating Committee's decision to open its own meetings is not accepted. Gray is present at the meeting.

**SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1969.** Quote from Wilder Penfield's letter to The Montreal Star:

"Anarchists must be controlled, if necessary by officers of the law."

**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1969.** Stan Gray's *Daily* article "McGill and the Rape of Quebec" provokes comment and dissension on campus.

**TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1969.** Gray is personally served with a letter from the Principal's office.

"Please be advised," the letter reads in part, "that we are satisfied that there is adequate cause to justify our recommending that you should be dismissed from the University."

The McGill Statutes indicate that a faculty member can only be dismissed on the grounds of "immorality, inefficiency, or any administrative or other cause which in the opinion of its members affects adversely . . . the general well-being of the University."

Ninety-seven students are arrested at Sir George Williams University for the wrecking of the Computer Centre.

**WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1969.** A bulletin from the Administration circulates the campus, confirming that "Mr. Gray has been invited to meet with us to see if the matter can be resolved by agreement. If agreement is not reached we will offer to Mr. Gray the arbitral procedures designed by the Canadian Association of University Teachers. And, although "we do not ask the members of the community to accept our position or interpretation of the substantive issues in the case . . . We do most strongly urge full support for the procedure in order that justice will be done."

Two thousand students cram the Students' Union Ballroom to hear Gray vow that he will not "sit passively by while the authorities act unilaterally."

**THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1969.** A motion of support for Gray is issued.

"Be it resolved," it states, "that the McGill Students' Council . . . is of the opinion that adequate cause for the dismissal does not exist, that it urges the Principal to drop all proceedings against Mr. Gray and ask the University's Senate and Board of Governors to proceed with discussions and resolution of issues raised by Mr. Gray and others."

Preliminary discussions between the two parties begin (broadcast on closed-circuit television) with Gray and advisor John Fekete on one side of the table, Dean H. D. Woods and

**TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1969.** Tripartite Commission resolves that the Administration drop all proceedings against Gray, but as the evening draws on, the Principal sends a letter to Gray:

"You, being a member of the teaching staff of the University, are hereby informed that I recommend that you be dismissed from the University . . . for having wilfully impeded the business of the University . . . I invite you to agree in writing, with the University, to submit the question to arbitration in accordance with the CAUT Policy Statement on Academic Appointments and Tenure as set forth in the attached agreement, by signing and returning the same."

This offer is open until 5 p.m. on February 25th, 1969.

The CAUT statement, Section C2 reads:

"The appointment of a faculty member having tenure should be terminated only upon proof of adequate cause before an arbitration committee which is constituted in accordance with the following principles."

Section C6 states that "The President and the Dean should meet with the member and they should jointly name an arbitration committee of three professors from outside the University, who should be authorized to consider whether adequate cause exists."

Principal Robertson's letter specifies the impeding of University business:

"One: in attempting to disrupt a meeting of the Nominating Committee of the Senate . . . 24th January, 1969."

Two: in disrupting the meeting of the Board of Governors . . . 27th January.

Three: in disrupting a meeting of the Senate convened on the afternoon of 6th February, 1969 . . . by participating with students during the meeting in a disorderly and noisy demonstration that prevented the transaction of the meeting's business; the whole constituting conduct that affected adversely or was likely to affect adversely the general well-being of the University."

**WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1969.** In response to the ultimatum, Gray lodges an appeal to the Senate, on the grounds that "neither the Principal nor the Dean of Arts and Science established a *prima facie* substantiation for initiating dismissal procedures . . . failing to show adequate cause."

Senate turns down the appeal and affirms the Principal's stand.

"The Syndicat des Professeurs de l'Université de Montréal tenders its support to Gray."

**FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1969.** Principal Robertson stands firmly by the official CAUT procedure. However, he agrees to allow the results of the Arbitration Committee to remain binding upon both parties, providing Gray acquiesces to the unaltered CAUT arrangement before the 5 p.m. deadline on the following day.

Other departments, namely Anthropology, Sociology and English, ask that the charges be dropped. In addition the English Department regrets that "the Chairman of the Political Science Department was not consulted before the proceedings were begun."

**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1969.** With the 5 p.m. deadline only one day off, another student rally is held.

RSA circulates a document: "We must insist that the charges be dropped. The mechanism to show our protest and solidarity is a massive peaceful demonstration at the Administration Building at the time of the Board meeting."

The Governors stand firm. Their position is that the Principal is handling the affair and that it is premature for them to consider the case [pre-judge it] in any way.

**TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1969.** A new deadline is fixed for Friday, 28th February, as both sides attempt to reach an agreement in private over arbitration procedures. In the evening the Principal and Chancellor Ross appear at a meeting of the Students' Council to discuss the University's position. Three hundred students sit in the audience. The Principal points out that his authority is derived from the University Statutes. Mr. Gray has been singled out from the campus activists because he bore "a responsibility that supersedes that of the others."

**WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1969.** Union of Philosophy Students calls on the Principal to "drop all charges against Stan Gray." Senate holds a special meeting to discuss "It's [Senate's] Role and Competence." Dr. Robertson tells the as-

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# THE SATURATION-CONSUMPTION MODEL OF SOCIAL HISTORY

by Howard Aster and Stuart Gilman

**S**tudies on human prospects toward the year 2000 signify the continuing search for meaning and purpose. Suggestions for the regulation and programming of social direction emanate from many sectors of the population: government, industry, the academies, as well as the popular media. Anxiety about current social direction expresses itself in large and small scale "reformist" or "revolutionary" actions and by other forms of individual and group protest. These are intended to halt, redirect, or regress social progress.

All sectors, irrespective of their social attitudes, presume that human beings have the ability to control their social progress. True or not, this presumption is maintained without any prior theory of social history.

Speculation, forecasting, and other more general, visionary pronouncements remain mysteries without a comprehensive theory of social history. Attempts to understand current behavior and trends are inadequate and fragmentary. The year 2000 is self-indulgent, permitting random

(and, sometimes, irresponsible) expression to the primordial, superstitious elements in the human psyche.

Responsible speculation and policy advice is issued liberally by many of our social scientists but, in general, their conclusions rest on nothing more than quantitative analyses of current trends. Outside trend analysis there is rarely an attempt to formulate a reliable and comprehensive historical framework within which their propositions may be examined.

## The Model

The chart represents the saturation-consumption model of social history. Man's social history is a function of his relationship to changes in the process of consumption. The consumption process (right side of the chart) is broken down into six separate and mutually contradictory categories. They are:

**Motive**—man's motive for consumption.

**Orientation**—man's orientation toward the consumption process.

**Technique**—man's technique for acquiring consumable objects.

**Organization**—man's organization for the acquisition of consumable objects.

**Scope**—man's scope of distribution of consumable objects.

**Mode**—the mode in which man consumes particular objects.

Each category is broken down into various stages. Arrows represent transformations of early stages into the later, more complex stages. Early stages may co-exist with later stages. All stages in a category may exist contemporaneously.

A particular stage in one category has no necessary logical relationship to particular stages in other categories. That is, a single stage in one category may correspond with any or all stages in any or all of the other categories.

Successive stages in the various consumption categories are achieved by a process of saturation. Saturation is the point of "no scarcity" or the point at which scarcity becomes negligible. This point leads automatically and necessarily to the next stage. The final stages are the termination points.

TRADITIONAL HISTORICAL REFERENCE	TRADITIONAL APPROACHES		
	THEME	APPELLATION	SUBJECT
IMPERIAL	national	economics	material reality
ETHNIC	regional	politics	social structures
GENERAL	international	sociology-psychology	man

**T**he left side of the chart represents traditional approaches to social history. These orientations minimize or ignore man's experience of his history. However, the only real, explicit and self-evident aspect of social history is the saturation point. The saturation categories are the concrete, the symbolic, and the cerebral.

## Applications

Application of the saturation-consumption model would describe the distribution and relationship of the three existential areas for any man at any time.

Specifically, a man's experience (or identity) at any time is determined by the summation of the relationships and states in the six categories in the consumption model. A society's social history at a particular time is determined by a summation of the changes in the relationships and states in the six categories up to that time.

Causes of specific multivariable conditions such as social instability, revolution, civil war, international war, imperialism, etc. are determined by a more detailed application of the model.

The model depicts relationships between man and social conglomerates. It is therefore possible to characterize in terms of the model such notions as stability, instability, normalcy, and abnormality. The model is a bridge between history and individual psychology.

Social stability is characterized as a regulated process toward saturation of specific states in all categories.

Stable systems are those in which the saturation process is suspended.

Instability is generated when there is no measure of change in any single state of the model. Individual stability (or "normalcy") is characterized by a self-regulated process of individual consumption.

Unstable or "abnormal" individuals suspend the saturation processes.

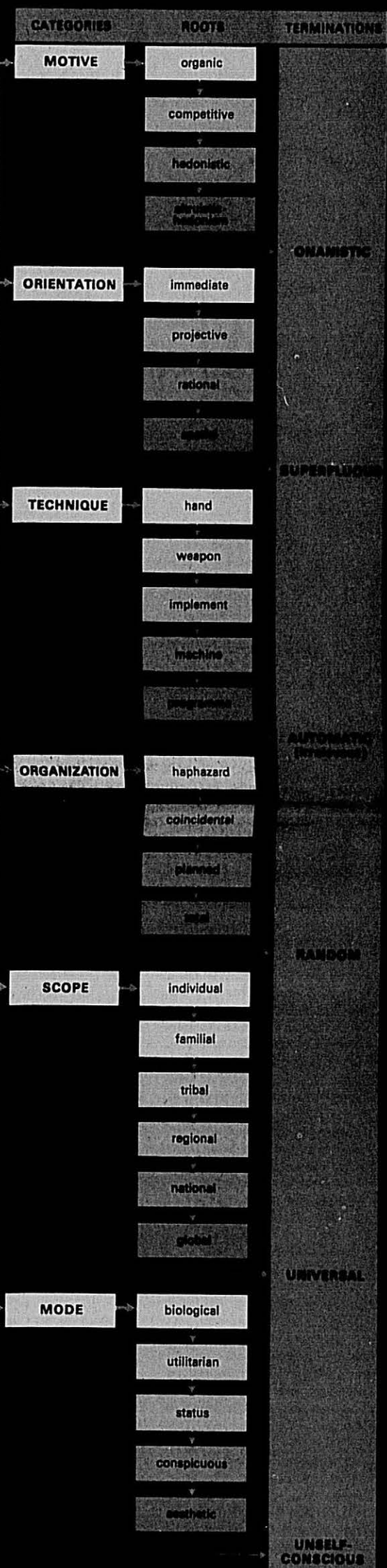
## The End of History

The points of termination in the consumption model represent stages which cannot be saturated and which, therefore, do not lead to any further stages.

So that, when the mode of consumption is unconscious, its motive onanistic, its orientation superfluous, its technique automatic, its organization random, and its scope universal—social history terminates.

Significant also, the end of history is a stable condition. There is a continuous process toward saturation which is never attained. Or, saturation is reached at infinity in all categories.

No longer dependant on subjects, appellations, or themes, man's experience is freed from all traditional historical references. This signifies the end of alienation.



THE END OF HISTORY



# there will be Shakespeare

interview with Paul Goodman  
by Harry E. Thomas  
and Stuart Gilman

**goodman** I just finished putting together a book called "New Reformation" which will come out in January. In it I try to analogize between our period and about 1510 when Luther went to Rome. My main point is that most of the so-called political activity at present (especially among young people) is really religious reformation activity—though not the way the hippies think. That is, as analogous to primitive christianity. You see, primitive christianity is the kind of thing which arises when the Roman Empire is doomed internally, and modern society, modern technology, etc. is not in that state. Nobody thinks it is, really, and what it is, rather, is that it's been corrupted and abused—the whore of Babel and all that stuff. The activity is really that, and neither the radical students nor the hippies really know what they are doing. But it seems quite obvious to me. That's what the book is about.

**reporter** You get into things like "crisis in values"?

**goodman** Oh, yes.

**reporter** "In an attempt to humanize a highly alienated environment—"

**goodman** But that's all Reformation stuff. That is precisely what the Reformation consists of.

You know, questions of "drain of wealth" and "economic priorities" these are all Lutheran questions. But even more important, I discuss in great detail the faith-works dilemma.

The book is really a book on alienation, which is a Lutheran word. It's about the Lutheran world, the Lutheran phenomenon. "When there is no world for you, what do you do?" You're stuck, and then everything has become pointless, so you have to operate by faith. But then everything you do is really stupid, but that's all you can do.

**reporter** Do you think that the kids—?

**goodman** What's going to happen? I don't know. But the humanists always look at this stuff and sympathize and say, "but that doesn't make much sense." And it doesn't make much sense.

**reporter** What stuff?

**goodman** Protestant activity, safe activity.

**reporter** Do you think it does the kids any good?

**goodman** That's not a reasonable question. They can't do anything else. There are no alternatives. If they are serious about things, there are no alternatives.

**reporter** You don't think that all that action, their activity, reduces their alienation?

**goodman** Well, it's the only way of getting through alienation. If, in fact, they break through, then it reduces the

alienation. If, in fact, they have faith, then they get out of alienation. Sure. Of course it does.

**reporter** That's what it's for, though.

**goodman** But you don't think—?

But they don't have any choice.

They can't do anything else. If you are alienated and you want to be alive, then you have to try to break through into *meaning*. But then you can't get meaning from the world because you're alienated. This is quite obvious to me. I mean, it's much worse than you people think because you're too young. You don't realize how much world you've lost. You see?

I'm quite serious about this. I'm quite sure that most of you don't know what it is to be a professional. The way that we took seriously being a professional. You just don't dig it. And there is no way of getting you to dig it. You see, by and large, I find that the vast majority of young people simply don't understand what it is to be a professional. Well, they don't. If they don't, they don't, and so there is no point in telling them to do their lessons. Because they don't see what it's about and they *never* will see what it's about. You see what I'm saying?

**reporter** Isn't the acceleration of change eliminating the professional approach, the deep approach?

**goodman** There are changes and changes. You see, when changes get to the religious level that's a different story from changes on the ordinary level. You know, new technology, new generations—that has always changed government. But you can get to a point where there gets to be a moral or cultural crisis and I think we are in such a time. That's not "change." That's more than revolutionary change, more than a political revolutionary change.

I think the political revolutionaries, for the most part, the ones that talk most about politics are simply counter-revolutionary. They are archaic. I think they are brainwashed and, in fact, I think they are mirror images of the things that they are attacking.

This is clear, you know, when you see a confrontation, say, like at Columbia. There was the President of Columbia and the SDS leader who were mirror images of each other. It was "like father, like son". You just couldn't tell them apart.

**reporter** Yes. Well, they are both bureaucrats.

**goodman** Yes. That's right. Fundamentally bureaucrats. Stubborn. That's right.

**reporter** Where does a guy like Jerry Rubin fit in?

**goodman** Oh, Jerry's different. Jerry's a nut. But he's different.

**reporter** You think he's okay?







**goodman** Jerry? Sure, he's okay. What's wrong with Jerry? I like these people. I often think that they are all wet, but that's another matter. You see, I'm a humanist and as a humanist I'm a professional. And I'm a poet. I mean, these people are alienated, they're meaningless. So my heart can't leap up when I see them, I wish it could—because they are all there is. You know? But you can't expect me to wave flags of enthusiasm.

Look. Take this Woodstock thing. You know, Bethel. Three hundred thousand people. I was with Joan Baez last week. Her eyes were shining ecstatically about this Bethel experience where she sang and stuff. So I tried to find out what was it that was so wonderful. Of course, from my point of view these things are all religious phenomena. It's a pilgrimage. An old-fashioned pilgrimage. You know, they used to go to the saint's bones so now they go to hear Joan Baez. It's the same thing. But what was great to her was that people were nice to one another. When I was young we used to take it for granted that people were nice to one another. You didn't send up balloons about this. Her eyes were shining about this. "A lot of people got together and were nice to each other. Nobody hurt anybody else purposely. The police didn't come in and slug anybody. A farmer gave somebody some food." You know, I've been doing this for sixty years. And my mother before me, too.

**reporter** But it did stop, didn't it?  
**goodman** What?

**reporter** Niceness.  
**goodman** Of course, it stopped. I know. Of course. But—I'm not saying that young people aren't talking about something "for real." But, my God, at what a low level! Now *this* is what we have to worry about. It is what we have to worry about. So the young are right. They are absolutely 100% right. But it isn't Milton and it isn't Shakespeare. It isn't Isaac Newton and you're not going to get Isaac Newton out of it. Luckily, you might get Martin Luther out of it. You know? Luckily!

**reporter** Why do we need Isaac Newton?  
**goodman** We don't need another Newton. But how can you say such a thing? You've just shown what I mean.

**reporter** But it's been taken care of. I mean But who said . . .  
**goodman** The computer, technology, automation. Why should we worry about such things?

**goodman** What a fantastic thing! If you believe that, then you are going to be like an Indian on a reservation. Don't you realize that? That is, *THEY* are taking care of you. You think computers act by themselves? Computers don't act by themselves. The computer is just on a circuit, you know, on which there is a man, and some machine and then there's some programme which some other dope made up and those things are going to run things and YOU are going to be like an Indian on a reservation.

**reporter** What was Marx's vision?  
**goodman** But here again, it's the same thing. It was absolutely a vision of Indians on a reservation. The society is run by administrators and somehow these administrators are going to be beneficent? Why? Why should they be beneficent? They want power. Take the Soviet Union or take any of the Marxist countries. What's beneficent about any of them?

**reporter** But they haven't got our advanced technology.

**goodman** Oh. What do you mean, they don't? We had enough technology back in 1890 to make a society where everybody could live prosperously. We don't need all this modern junk. My God! It isn't that. It's got nothing to do with it.

**reporter** So how do you distinguish between, say, a guy on a reservation who is just being "cool" and someone, perhaps—

**goodman** Who is a "citizen"? I Nof A man today is not on a reservation. He's a citizen! He's free! He runs things! He sees to it that he runs things, etc. That's how you distinguish it. He's a *citizen!* "It's *my* society! It's *my* machinery! It's *my* factory, and I run it." From that point of view Adam Smith was thirty times more revolutionary than Marx ever was. Marx! My god! Marx devoted most of his life to destroying the anarchist movement. He was afraid of freedom; what he liked was Indians on a reservation and the reason for that was that he was a bureaucrat. Typical of, you know, a boss type, who believed in big factories where guys pushed buttons. So you're useless. In his time at least you were exploited. Now you are not even exploited.

**reporter** So the idea of a man becoming a poet without responsibility to the—

**goodman** There's no such thing as a poet without responsibility.

**reporter** Without responsibility to the process of production.

**goodman** There's no such thing as a poet without responsibility to the process of production. The only kind of poet that counts is John Milton or Shakespeare, people like that. They were all plunked into the process of production. There's no such thing. You're talking of some guy who does finger painting. You're talking of a hippie. They're not poets. They've never written a poem. They'll never write a poem.

The only poets out of that movement are the real professional poets like Alan Ginsberg who works like a dog. I'm serious! There are no such poets as you talk about, who are responsible citizens. Sometimes they have way-out visions and so forth but who *is* this irresponsible poet? Who are you thinking of? What poet?

**reporter** You don't conceive of someone who "creates" for its own sake as leading a valuable life?

**goodman** But creation means creation in "for real" activity. And there isn't any distinction between the "for real" activity of producing bread and producing great dreams, etc. It's all "for real" activity. There isn't any distinction of that kind. All worthwhile activity is creative activity. That's what's wrong with the present way we handle our technology. Too many people have turned into, you know, automata.

**reporter** You can't envisage, say, a purely self-oriented creature who is a—  
**goodman** Certainly. I can envision him. I see him all around on the street. But it's very boring. And he'll never write a poem.

**reporter** Do you think it's boring for him?  
**goodman** I don't care. Couldn't care less. I hope it's not boring for him. I hope he's happy. But he'll never write a poem.

**reporter** But you don't think—  
**goodman** It's like a guy, say, like Alan in a bad moment, when he's been taking too much acid or something. He comes back and writes something which comes out of the acid dream but has no value as a poem, because it's not made of *these* words. It's made of some dim reflections of something which happened in another world and has no value to me. There's no value as a poem. There's no value to humanity.

You know, it sounds something like, say, the Book of Revelations, which is also a rotten poem—because it comes from the same kind of thing. You know, out of this world. You don't get poetry out of this world. You get poetry out of handling speech. Speech is *speech*, you know. It's not dreams. It's speech.

**reporter** You don't think it's enough to have Shakespeare and Dante and Homer and—

**goodman** These were certainly very fine poets. But they were certainly very responsible.

**reporter** But I'm asking you, is it not enough that we do have them? Do we need more Shakespeares?

**goodman** Oh. I don't know if we need them. We're going to get them. I mean, human beings will continue, I trust, to speak. And if they speak there are some people who are going to speak better and better. Those are the poets.

**reporter** I personally don't think that people are going to continue speaking in the way—

**goodman** You don't? You really—?

**reporter** Speech is a very poor thing today—

**goodman** This is interesting. Because this is a McLuhan disease. You really think that in a hundred years from now the chief medium of communication among human beings isn't going to be the spoken word? Definitely.

**reporter** You think that?

**goodman** Yes.

**reporter** You are out of your mind. You are out of your bloomin' mind.

**reporter** I don't have to look a hundred years ahead. Today.

**goodman** It isn't the chief medium of communication today? What are we doing?

**reporter** Now?

**goodman** Speech creates the world and that's what we mean by communication. We don't mean exchanging some data processed in my brain and putting it into your brain. That's about 2% of speaking. We try to affect each other. You know, by the way we talk.

**reporter** We affect each other more by the non-verbal aspects of our behaviour than we affect each other by "content."

**goodman** No. No. No. No. We affect each other by (*I can tell you as a psychologist*) we affect each other by syntax. It's the syntax of the sentence, it's the structure. Whether you use passive constructions, complex sentences, simple sentences, the choice of words. Whether it's an educated vocabulary, a busman's vocabulary, we affect each other by style. But everybody always knew this. Aristotle says it, in the "Rhetoric." That's what speech is, and that's what real communication is. Mutual affecting.

There is a little branch of communication which has to do with having a formed idea and giving it to the other person. But that's always been a tiny little piece of speaking. A very little bit. Scientific reports, maybe. But that's very little to do with journalism. It has very little to do with any literature. I mean you're Canadian and I have to warn you against that guy you have up there—Marshall. He did some good work about fifteen years ago (which I was one of the first to praise because he happened to write for a publisher I was with then, Vanguard Press). His first book was very good but since then everything is just—you know.

**reporter** Well, look. We can go after this from a different point of view.

**goodman** Yeah.

**reporter** I feel, and I am sure that you will agree with this . . .

**goodman** I'm not so sure.

**reporter**—very few people communicate effectively with speech.

**goodman** That's false. That's utterly false. Every human being communicates quite well. My little girl. She copes very well in getting us to do what she wants. Sometimes it's by a whine and sometimes it's by some freakish thing. That's what speech is. Speech is style. Syntax. That's what speech is. Content is something in Marshall McLuhan's head. It has nothing to do with literature. Did you ever read the "Poetics" of Aristotle? He specifically points that out. It's the structure of the play which works. Not what you're writing about.

**reporter** Then "content" is a "clay pigeon."

**goodman** Of course. Mind you, there *is* such a thing as content. But it's a tiny little bit of speech. Most serious poets like to have the contents "true", meaning scientifically true, for a reason of texture. That is, when you have true sentences you can't push them around. So you get weight to the page and that's what hits the readers. The weight

*continued page 12*



## discontent *continued*

so as a condemnation of the Vietnam war or in the name of some progressive cause, they win the support of many older liberals and enlightened radicals who invariably consider it all very socially significant. When a teen-ager wrestles with the police for the sake of the moral superiority of a future social order, he cannot fail to obtain the sympathetic attention of radio and television editors, if not psychiatrists. The ritualistic invocation of ideology is thus both an alibi and a defense.

Perhaps it all has made too many headlines, perhaps it has been talked about too much for people to accept the fact, but the truth of the matter is that these rebellions can and do paralyze our universities. Not only are classes interrupted and buildings occupied, but faculty members must devote their energies to calming things down. Even more importantly, the time and energy which should be devoted to more lasting achievements are drained away on plans to forestall new confrontations. A last comparison with pre-Hitler days: In Germany at that time, as Professor George L. Moose (*The Crisis of German Ideology*, Grosset and Dunlap, 1964) puts it, "professors tended to be either scholars who withdrew into their own specialty, taking scant notice of the world around them, or men who attempted to play the role of prophets. The first kind of academic wanted only to be left in peace . . . The professor as prophet, with very few exceptions indeed, was to be found on the side of the revolting students." Of the students of that time he says, "They had found a basis for action that opposed existing authority yet remained independent of any political movement directed by their elders." And the faculties, he says, "failed to provide any opposition, failed to use administrative powers and failed to organize effective alternative groups of students. At best they displayed a detached passivity . . . at worst they joined in the harassment."

PROFESSORS ARE  
INTIMIDATED  
BY YOUNG BLOOD

In our universities today we have faculty members who are trying to remain aloof from it all, and others who are trying to anticipate even the most radical student demands so as to avoid confrontations. Worse, though, there are few efforts being made to organize effective alternative groups of students. Worst of all, many professors are so intimidated that they cave in even before the students exercise pressure. It is the continuous worry about what the militant students may do next, the anxious efforts to give them no offense, which saps the universities of their strength to the point of paralysis. And this anxious avoidance of taking a firm stand gives not only these militants, but also many non-committed students, the feeling that they have the faculty on the run.

If the colleges and universities would take a determined stand against coercion and intimidation—though always open to, indeed inviting, reasonable and non-coercive discussion about much-needed reform—then student rebellions could be reduced to the point where they would no longer threaten either the universities or society. The university must strengthen its will to resist disruption and coercion. If it succeeds, it will have little need to take recourse to punitive measures, beyond setting into practice the principle that those who do not wish to have any part of our universities should have their will: they should not be permitted to be, live or work in a place they hate, not as a punishment, but because to remain in a place they hate and despise serves no good purpose and is detrimental to their emotional well-being.

Bruno Bettelheim is professor of psychology and psychiatry at the University of Chicago and head of the Sonia Shankman Orthogenic School in Chicago.

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## Karl Deutsch *continued*

the past. There are still some old people who think that normality is what existed before 1910. There are some slightly less old people who think that normality is what existed in 1928. This is not true. For instance, the notion of the viability of countries is obsolete. Since 1945 one single country has given up sovereignty for economic reasons—that was Newfoundland, and they did it under very favourable circumstances. But no country from Lybia to anything else has really found it cannot live. If three million Danes, or three million Norwegians on their rocky soil can make a perfectly decent living there is no economic reason why five million Scotsmen or six million Quebecers could not run a perfectly successful, decent and prosperous country. There is no evidence that they are inherently inferior to Scandinavians. They could live just as well as Scandinavians. If they don't do it they will not do it because staying within Canada (in the Quebec case) or staying within Britain (in the Scottish case) is more attractive to them. It's the old story. There used to be a time when girls would marry because they feared that otherwise they would starve. Today's educated women don't. If they marry they want to be wooed. They marry voluntarily.

## french in quebec english in manitoba

**REPORTER:** I think a lot of modern women want to be wooed and not married.

**DEUTSCH:** But they make their own decisions in either case. I think what is true of modern women is true of modern nations. They will only stay in a union voluntarily or not at all.

**REPORTER:** What do you think of the Federal Government's relationship to Quebec?

**DEUTSCH:** I don't know. That only Quebecers can know. But if the Federal Government wants to do well, it must effect equality in a very serious sense. Full recognition. It means essentially accepting the fact that when you go to Saskatchewan you speak English but when you go to Quebec or Montreal you speak French. This is what the Swiss have done and they have stayed together for 600 years, but the Swiss idea is that when you go to Geneva you speak French and you expect your children to go to a French school. You're not trying to set up little German enclaves in Geneva. And the Genevans so far have not yet tried to set up small French enclaves in Zurich.

**REPORTER:** Your analysis of nationalism, politicization and national mobilization makes very good sense to me. When you have millions of people in a particular country clamouring for responsive government, what would you advise the government as to techniques of responsiveness?

**DEUTSCH:** You begin by measuring it. A telephone company knows how many seconds it takes (on the average) to put a telephone call through. It knows the chances of getting the number you tried to get. There is no reason in the world why government shouldn't find out much the same. If a department store can know how many dissatisfied customers they get per thousand sales, there is no reason why the Post Office shouldn't know. You could know how long the people stand in line on the average in front of office windows. And know how many minutes, seconds, or weeks it takes to get something done by the government. You might want to know what the average probability is of getting what you want. (Taking into account that people sometimes want all things.) You could then see to what extent Quebecers are frustrated by the Canadian governmental process. Or, if they are equally frustrated as English speakers then why they are more frustrated than they are willing to put up with. You could find out all this and also find out what could be done about it.

It is possible (and I can tell you this from experience in Central Europe) that a population develops high aspirations much faster than capabilities for producing the living standard that is necessary to fulfill them. You will then find politicians saying "if you only make the political unit bigger, by union and empire, you will be better off." And when that doesn't work then other politicians will come and say "If you'd only make the unit smaller and secede you'll be better off." In Central Europe people have tinkered with the size of the political unit for 50 years and they're still dissatisfied. That is to say, the size of the political unit is not really a very powerful lever for controlling the quality of life. You can

have a great deal of frustration, unemployment, air pollution or gangsterism in small countries as easily as in big ones.

For instance, there is no significant correlation between the economic growth rate and the size of the country. Even though a lot of theorists have argued that big markets should grow faster, the fact is they don't. The determinants of economic growth are other than the size of the country (once you go beyond about 5 million people).

## unity and discord: a samples approach

**REPORTER:** So to find out the essential facts about unity and discord one would then employ statistical evaluations . . .

**DEUTSCH:** Well, samples, tests, everything! A reporter could go through a line and see what happens. He could go and try to get a job and see what happens when he presents himself as French speaking, as English speaking. You could have fun and send the same reporter through. One set of papers would say his name is Jean Gautier and that he speaks mainly French and the second set would send him through as John Smith speaking elegant English. See what happens.

**REPORTER:** Why don't governments do these kind of studies?

**DEUTSCH:** Well, some do. The Swiss, for instance, have practised a good deal of intelligent response to these problems. Introducing the territorial principle, delegating much financial responsibility to the cantons, collecting money federally but having it spent locally.

I think this is a very important thing: to separate the unit that collects revenues from the unit that spends it. The units that collect revenue must be made as large as possible. Your industries and your rich people will flee any region where much public expenditure is needed. On the other hand, the spending of public revenue should be delegated down as closely as possible to the

## canada can also grow in quebec

places where they know their needs best. Therefore, the district that spends public revenue should be small and local, but the districts that collect public revenue should be large or nationwide.

This is very different from the 19th Century idea, where you always said that people of the same unit should collect the revenue and spend it. I think there is a real difference here. That leads you into a whole re-thinking of certain problems of public administration.

If Quebec would use its own taxes? This might or might not be a good idea. Actually, it might be. But it might mean that Quebec would then contribute less to the development of the Prairie Provinces. On the other hand, if the Canadian Federal Government spends money, the officers may be found less responsive by Quebecers. You might want to work out, on the one hand, one arrangement between the province and the nation (and how and where revenue should be raised) and a second agreement as to what broad purposes it should be allocated.

Quebecers probably feel that their own countryside should rate a higher priority and they may have to work out something with Saskatchewan to make a tolerable compromise on that.

Most Canadians have been very, very aware of the fact that Alberta and Saskatchewan are frontier provinces with much growth. I suspect that many taxpayers in Winnipeg have not thought of rural Quebec as a frontier of Canadian growth. Of course, Canada can grow in Quebec as well as anywhere else. I think the image of Canadian growth has to be something that happens not only in the West but all over the country. This idea, promoted effectively, is something that, to some extent, could reduce some of the bitterness between the Canadian provinces.

To talk amid the trees and quiet of a country setting.  
Left to right: Harry Thomas, Stuart Gilman, Karl Deutsch and student at Well Fleet, Cape Cod, Mass. ▶

Karl Deutsch is a political scientist at Harvard University whose major concern is the development of nationalism.





# UNITY AND PURPOSE IN LARGE INSTITUTIONS

by Edward L. Lowry

Destruction is fascinating. Watch how people are carried away by the sight of demolition workers using their equipment to attack a building which has outlived its day and flatten it down to a parking lot. There is an inherent appeal in the fact that it's all so quick, so decisive—and, above all, that there is nothing left to show in the way of mistakes. Destruction in itself is negative but it is also a positive necessity for rebuilding to meet the needs of the future.

In the world of human affairs, chaos is the raw material out of which men fashion new order. Perfection of order inhibits growth and there must be a demolition of those parts which do not meet the needs of changing times. Because of the fascination of destruction, it is not surprising that the activities of those who feel it is their mission to create chaos should make such good material for the press. However, since it is obviously impractical to live in a city of parking lots or to survive in a world of complete chaos, this much vaunted destruction must be matched by the tough chores of new creation. Greater desires for change can only become effective if accompanied by an improvement in the skills for renewal.

The renewal and strengthening of institutions could be helped considerably if there were more general understanding of the problem posed by the question:

"How do men bind themselves to-

gether in freedom to common purpose?"

There is an element of novelty here in that the traditional way of running institutions has been to rely on coercion to secure unity of action. The scope for coercion has been reduced by successive social reforms and freedom has become a rallying-cry even though its meaning is all too often confused with licence. The space of freedom has to be created by formulating rules that define the limits of acceptable action. Thus the rule of keeping to the right in traffic provides the space of freedom to drive without fear of oncoming vehicles; licence on the roads would soon clog all movement.

The sense of freedom lies in the feeling that one's personal interests are represented at the framing of those rules in legislative sessions where agreement is thrashed out between rival interests amid mixed emotions. Free men obey the rules that they themselves have made. The problem is that the making of such rules has been limited to those who were sufficiently established that they could take a long-term view and were not tempted by their short-term needs to devour the goose that lays the golden eggs. This hunger effectively disenfranchised workers in industry, the poor and the outcast in society, and youth in its quest for fulfillment. With rising prosperity the franchise is being expanded but it is a long hard

road to reach agreements that yield justice—as anyone who has sat in on union-management contract negotiations will bear witness. One might add that it is only now, after all these years of building up rule-books, that management and workers are entering into the spirit of working together in freedom towards common goals. With this in mind, let us take the matter one stage further.

One plays hockey within the rules of the game. Whilst hockey depends on good rules, the rules themselves must be subordinate to the spirit of the game; they are merely the means to an end served by hockey. The goal, in hockey, is to get the puck into the net, but, as an act in itself, this can hardly give the satisfaction that will make players sweat and take punishment. The satisfactions that enthral the heart are varied; the pleasure of releasing pent-up hostility, the thrill of perfection in bodily skills, the sense of catching the spirit of something bigger than oneself in the collective effort of the team. Such things cannot be distilled and separated from the run of action, so the mundane achievement of putting the puck in the net is given a special meaning to serve as a focal point for united effort; it is transformed to symbolize the satisfaction to be found in the spirit of the game.

In looking at any institution, it is important to distinguish between its mundane goals and the real but hidden purpose of its people that makes

their sweat and punishment meaningful. Let us look in this manner first at industry and then at universities.

The mundane goal of industry is profit. This is the way the industrial game is set up and any company that fails to play hard to this end will soon fall to the league of the distressed. This struggle for profit means that everybody in a business, from president down, must share in the sweat and punishment of work as it affects each job. Unfortunately, work has suffered these past decades from the analytical approach of scientific management whose industrial engineers have picked the work-content of jobs apart till the whole thing is as lifeless as a cadaver used for dissection in medical school. This is far removed from the spirit which made men sing at their work and it is no wonder that motivation has been a problem. However, a new day is dawning in industry as men start to re-appraise the hidden qualities of work that provides a sense of self-fulfilment in a manner so well described by Kahil Gibran in *The Prophet*. Work, seen like this, becomes exciting and provides industry with fresh vitality in its endless struggle for profit.

Similarly, the mundane goal of a university is academic distinction as witnessed each year by its Commencement Exercises. Students, faculty and administrators, each in their own way, experience the sweat and punishment of the university year. It is however the wisdom acquired as

a hidden by-product from handling the mass of material required to pass exams which makes the effort worthwhile. With few exceptions, this acquired wisdom is what employers seek from those who come to them with a Degree to certify their knowledge. As long as the clever do not drive out the wise, men will find universities a source of wisdom which will justify the cost and effort of academic work.

Sweat and punishment are the lot men have in common, no matter whether they pursue wisdom in studying for a degree, seek self-fulfilment in working for profit, or try and capture the spirit of hockey in taking the puck down the ice for a goal. In the heat generated by the outpouring of such self-giving is born a very precious thing—mutual respect. Mutual respect makes it natural to consult and reach agreement on the ground-rules that provide the space of freedom in which men find liberty to live their lives. It provides the foundation on which freedom may be built and, also, in paradox, serves as the cement that binds free men together. This is the magic that creates unity without coercion; the sound basis for the future development of our institutions.

The growth in the size of institutions must be accompanied by positive action to develop those things which create unity. The action of industry is to develop its men of authority not merely to act as good

managers but also to serve as statesmen. The boss as a manager decides what must be done based on an analytical appraisal of the facts; as a statesman, he makes the task seem meaningful and the effort feel worthwhile. The manager requires knowledge and know-how, but the statesman, above all, requires wisdom. It takes wisdom to bring people to act together in a common effort and create the conditions in which mutual respect may be won.

There is little doubt that institutions like industry must look more and more to universities for men with the thirst for wisdom that should be a part of scholarship. The explosion of knowledge must be accompanied by the wisdom to use it well. What wisdom will it take to give unity and purpose to the inter-related efforts of mankind, the largest institution of them all

Edward L. Lowry was born in Westminster, England. He is a graduate of Cambridge University. In 1964 he set up as Edward Lowry and Associates Ltd. to develop and practice the concepts of Post-Critical Management—people as people, not as mere bodies to be used effectively.

# UNIVERSITIES — THE NEXT PHASE

by Maxwell Cohen

It took over eight hundred years to develop the modern university in the West. But its freedoms, the richness and variety of its enterprise, its service both to "tradition" and the "future," its unique role as an island and a spearhead—all these are barely more than a century old.

The recent attacks levelled upon its liberal and progressive traditions have demonstrated certain weaknesses in its governing structures. These attacks have also exposed an archaic quality in the links between community and college, and the various constituencies within each. Moreover, the attacks appear at a time when many of the classical images of authority have come into question. The teacher and the administrator have not been immune to a process that has enfeebled church

and home and even government itself.

What was unexpected was the demonstrated fragility of university life. This was revealed as result of the mounting guerrilla forays against it by a determined and often malicious minority of students (and some junior staff). To pretend that the universities have not responded to new social forces and values is to pervert the facts. To assume also that the university has no objective role in conserving past knowledge for future use is to negate its essential character as a prime source of human information, training and experiment.

Thus, the radical demand for change in university government, in teaching methods, in the student role and in its responses to some hierarchy of community needs is both

"old hat" as much as it is new game. To believe that departments, teachers and the students themselves have not, before this day, been trying to up-date their knowledge and research is, of course, absurd. Staff democratization of university government since World War II has become a dominant social pattern in so many North American centers.

Two real (as distinct from fictional) issues lie ahead: First, how far can staff control of general policy and academic appointments admit student participation? Second, how far will seemingly *just* demands for a better university response to community needs become not an improved technique of assuring ongoing adjustments but a tool for "politicizing" university life and thus subjecting teaching and research

programs, from physics to history, to tests of (so-called) relevance —the "critical university"?

The answer to the first is that a student role, at the highest level, is here to stay. But it is only here as a voice and an influence, not as a basic source of determining power. The staff cannot concede that its merits and its functions shall be student determined; the learning process may be a partnership but the teacher is certainly the senior partner and the classroom is not a town hall that daily votes on the verities of course or teacher. In the overall life of the university, students have the right to speak on every issue from curriculum to external policy. But their role must stop short of having a legislative or executive veto, in numbers or method. Equally, it must not be permitted

to approach with any final authority the appointment, promotion or discharge of members of the teaching staff themselves.

On the second question, the university is inevitably a part of the whole social fabric, and a strategic part. Its strength lies in its ability to be both "conservative" and "subversive," in the name of knowledge and truth. There is a vast difference however, between politicizing all university activity in aid of some general theory of social change and using the university as an effective forum for debate and for the delineation of necessary social changes in our complex time.

The university in its next phase must fight to retain its role as both conscience and observer, of "impartial" searcher for truth and dissemi-

nator of knowledge, up to the limits where such detachment does not artificially withdraw it from some proper, active relationship to the community about it. But it can never yield to pressures from administrators, or staff, from students or alumni, from general public or government, that would destroy its ultimate uniqueness. Indeed, it needs all of these constituencies to defend that uniqueness from new and old enemies, within and without.

Maxwell Cohen was dean of the McGill Faculty of Law from 1964 to 1969. He now is Macdonald Professor of Law at McGill and serves as a one-man Royal Commission on Labour Legislation in Newfoundland and Labrador.

# GROWTH AND TRANSFORMATION: View of a graduate

by Hugh Hallward

"If I were founding a University . . . I would found first the smoking room; then when I had a little more money in hand I would found a dormitory; then after that, or more properly with that, a decent reading room and a library. After that, if I still had money over that I could not use, I would hire a professor and get some text books."—Stephen Leacock.

Can McGill make it as a university? Can it survive its enormous growth? Is an institution of higher learning that has grown so fast entitled to call itself a university? Or, has it become merely an instructional factory, particularly in its Arts and Science faculty where 40% of its population is enrolled?

What are the growth figures? Statistics describe a student population of:

3,400 in 1939  
7,900 in 1949  
8,000 in 1959  
16,000 in 1969

In the Middle Ages the first universities came into existence. They con-

sisted of groups of travelling students who had endless personal contact with their teachers. As a result, they were able to test new ideas on each other, as well as having an effective two-way exchange with their instructors. As this community of learning expanded, it became impractical to travel constantly. Gradually, the development of a university campus took place. The "don" system of tutorial discussion at Oxford is a direct legacy, as is the idea of round table discussion groups.

The idea of 1,000 people being lectured to on television is a far cry from the personal system of early academic institutions. Leacock obviously had this in mind when he suggested that the most important university facility was the smoking room, i.e. a meeting place for ideas and views.

Has McGill done a good job in providing its population with the necessary combination of books, lectures, labs and personal discussion groups?

In 1944, when I sat down to my

first lecture in Moyse Hall, I felt McGill was doing a pretty good job. A year later I was impressed with the job that the administration did in providing for the huge influx of returning servicemen.

By 1949 the worst was over. Growth became more regular.

In 1960 I was an observer for the Graduates Society to a joint Senate/Governors series of meetings which had to decide on the maximum size of McGill and which had to establish a population figure beyond which the University would not go. The decision?—9,500!

In fairness to all, the Provincial government made it plain that this was unacceptable and that McGill had to do a lot more.

What happened to the learning process? It became more impersonal, although not by default. The administration has struggled with the challenge and not without some success.

Today, a generation of students has grown up unscarred by war or depression—a generation that has a high degree of idealism, prepared not

only to participate in the life of its community, but wanting to be directly involved in trying to solve mankind's toughest problems. Failure to recognize the reactions of this generation is costly. As well, the University can benefit greatly from them.

However, ruthless opportunists can readily take advantage of the weaknesses of the struggling university. The undergraduates, subjected as they are to impersonalized teaching methods, cannot help but be resentful of the lack of the smoking room, of a personalized environment. The atmosphere is unfortunately conducive for those who want to exploit it in the least constructive of ways.

Any faculty member who is resentful at not getting enough recognition can have a field day. With the idea that he is smarter than those politicians, businessmen and administrators—both inside and outside the academic world—who are running things, he may feel it is a "dreadful world" and that he should be running it. He can become alienated and, in consequence, start teaching alien-

ation. The students who respond best to these teachings of dissatisfaction get the best marks. Before long, they, too, become faculty members. Then, whole faculties can become disaffected. Instead of explaining the values of our culture and passing on those values, they may try to transform their departments into centres of sedition and destruction.

This was largely the background to the scene which the Arbitration Committee met last winter. Their report seems destined to become an historical milestone in the administration of university policies and procedures.

For the community at large, the Report (whilst obviously of satisfaction), was far from a whitewash for McGill. On the other hand, one cannot help but view last winter's excitement with sadness. Had the agitators in question had the virtues of compassion and loyalty to the University, instead of to bloody revolution, they could have performed a great service to McGill. Certainly there is room for improvement in the

Senate; maybe the Board of Governors needs new blood, but the tactics of filibuster on one hand and violent invasion on the other, are not going to help one bit.

It is well to recall that McGill has long had its share of men and women who were dedicated to the cause of revolution; men and women who skillfully exploit legitimate grievances for their own ends and who fundamentally do not want progress and reform, except on their own terms. If McGill recognizes that there is much to be done, that its problems are not solely lack of money but rather "the smoking room", and if it undertakes concrete and specific programmes to resolve these problems it will, I believe, survive its current troubles. And in so doing, it will then be entitled to call itself a "great university", something I am certain it can be.

Hugh Hallward is a native of Montreal and graduate of McGill University. He served as a consulting editor for this issue of the McGill Reporter.



of the page. Whereas if you have any kind of fantastic nonsense it floats. The page has no weight.

See? The reason I, as a writer, like to use true sentences (and I do) and sometimes couple them with something absolutely fantastic, if I can, is to have that weight. Then, sometimes, I like to let the whole thing fall in, so that it becomes nonsense. But when I do that I generally use nonsense syllables. I don't use false sentences. I just go and do gibberish.

But the reason you want true sentences in a page of prose (if it's not a scientific report) is to give the page weight. Anchor it down. Just the way the great sculptors liked to use marble, as opposed to clay. Because the marble just sat



"you see a true sentence is like marble"

there, and you really had to hack at it. The clay was too malleable. You see, a true sentence is like marble.

**reporter** Does this relate at all to Chomsky's "deep structure"?

**goodman** No. He doesn't understand speech either. His book on the structure of the English language has nothing to do with the English language. He's a great guy, by the way. He's a great guy and a very great linguist. But he doesn't understand what speech is.

**reporter** So what you're saying if I understood correctly is that speech is interaction.

**goodman** No. Speech is a way of being in the world that *this animal* has and that's why you're not going to get rid of it because that is *this animal*, the human being. There isn't any evidence you can give of any sort of men who didn't get their social cohesion mostly by speech.

**reporter** Singing?

**goodman** Yeah. Good speech often approaches singing.

**reporter** Okay. Let's talk about universities. They are not helping at all to re-establish a vital humanism.

**goodman** They certainly are not. No.

**reporter** How come?

**goodman** Well, what happened largely is educational imperialism. That is, universities (of the Western kind, which are the only kind there ever were) are professional schools—schools that teach the learned professions. That's all they are. Now along toward the 19th century they began to be elitist. Then as our societies became affluent every middle class person thought if it's good enough for Lord "so and so", then it's good enough for my boy. And then, every damn indus-

trialist saw this as a way of getting free apprenticeships paid for by the public and the parents. So they aggrandized the structure out of all sense.

My own opinion is that about one in ten of those who go to college should go. It's irrelevant to the others.

**reporter** Can you become a professional through the university?

**goodman** If you mean through universities as they are at present, the evidence is overwhelming that the universities are irrelevant. There's a study done by American College Testing which shows there is no correlation whatever, none whatever, between professional excellence as measured by the judgment of peers, and college grades. None whatever. Now, my guess is that if you could get licensed without the degree there would be no correlation whatever between having gone to university and your professional excellence.

**reporter** Where would he get his apprenticeship?

**goodman** In the field, where everybody else gets his apprenticeship, except for a few learned professions that have a strong philosophical part—in which case you can teach them academically. You can't teach most things academically. It's absurd.

What a funny way to learn something! To go off for four years into some isolated environment and do lessons out of text books. That's not the way you learn anything.

**reporter** How should we learn things?

**goodman** The way things were always taught. By getting into the field. You know, you begin hanging around as an office boy and after a while you claim attention and the guys who know give you attention. If you don't claim attention then you should not be there.

**reporter** This includes literature, of course.

**goodman** Of course. Well, that you will never get at university. That's out. Yes.

**reporter** How about political science?

**goodman** It's the same thing with all these fields. The way to learn political science at present is to be in the resistance if you're in the States. There must be some Canadian equivalent. I mean, there must be something up there where you take some real risks, and then you find out what sovereignty means and what cops are about and what allegiance means and what exile means. That's political science. But Socrates says this, too. Isn't that what it's about? "What is courage? What is justice?" And the way you get it is in real life situations where it's "for real."

**reporter** Are our industrialists misplacing their money by maintaining universities?

**goodman** The taxpayers are. The industrialists are getting a certain amount of weeding out. (Not so much apprenticeship, that's not so important because you learn nothing there). You see, you get 100% of kids to take algebra in order that the half of 1% who have a knack for it might appear. Then General Electric steps in. There's a good deal in it for them that way.

Not that you are going to learn anything about electrical engineering in the university. The evidence is overwhelming that as soon as

you get out of the university and get on the job you have to forget everything you have learned, and learn engineering. But what they do is weed out plenty of talent.

**reporter** How can a person find himself if he doesn't have a structure which provides him with certain options?

**goodman** You mean, if the community



"... school is not useful for life"

doesn't provide the structure?

**Yes.**

Very difficult. When society does not provide this structure, he can't. That's why you have alienation.

One of the chief causes of alienation, certainly in American society, is the school system. I mean, that's obvious. And it's becoming more and more evident in the US at the high school level and at the junior high level, that the thing is not "for real", that the school is really not useful for life. When the kids say it's not relevant, they don't know what they mean. It's much truer than they know—that it's irrelevant.

You understand? It isn't even relevant for jobs and so forth. We have a guy in Columbia now, who's done a tremendous study, a series of studies, which is going to come out as a big book and I hope this will blow the works off this one. In it he shows that there's no correlation between having a high school diploma and your job. There is no difference between having a high school diploma or being a dropout, in job performance or salary. If you can get the job. Therefore, the only roadblock is the hiring practice. If they would hire without making this discrimination everybody would be better off. In other words, every kid is wasting his time going through those four years of high school.

**reporter** Do you hold any hope that we can alter this?

**goodman** It's going to happen in the following way. (Some of us have been saying this for a certain number of years and a lot of teachers know that we are right.) The public has been lied to so much by these school guys that they don't know it. But they are going to know it when the schools are burned down. And that is going to happen. The high schools are going to be burned down.

The interesting level is going to be the lower level where the kids are going to play hockey—truant—and that will happen in droves. I mean, 20%, 30% just won't go to school. At that moment the public will suddenly say "what goes on here?" Then there will be an alter-

ation. But by then, of course, there are going to be riots on the streets, fantastic delinquency.

**reporter** You think that gang delinquency is coming again?

**goodman** Well, it's bound to come. When the kids are on the street, they are going to be called "delinquent" whatever they are.

**reporter** Would the rest then go off to Beth-el and have a love-in?

**goodman** But that, too, will be called delinquent when you are playing truant. You see, you can have a Bethel love-in in August, but suppose you had a Bethel love-in in October. That's coming.

**reporter** Yeah, of course. That has happened.

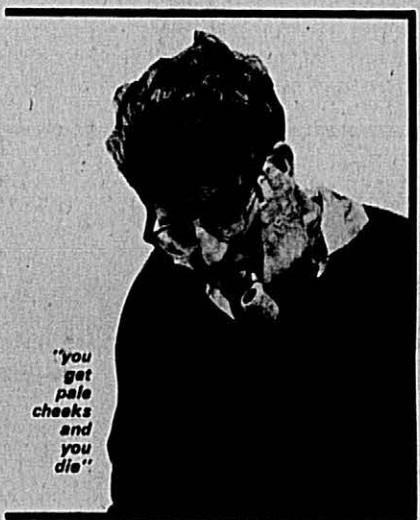
**reporter** What about the universities?

**goodman** I trust they will founder. I trust that most of them will be ghost towns. Mind you, I think the core, the heart of the university, the professional school, is an eternal invention of the Western spirit and I am sure that that will go on. Even if everyone of them closes, new ones will rise, because it's a good idea. But it's a good idea for a very small purpose. A small, but a very important purpose. It's got its tradition, and why shouldn't that tradition go on? The universities have collapsed before, you know. That's nothing new.

**reporter** When was this?

**goodman** In the Renaissance. Post-Renaissance there was absolutely nothing. There wasn't a single distinguished man in any of the arts and sciences who was a university man in the 18th century. Until you get almost to Kant. That was not the way it was done, and the reason for that was the universities got ossified with their mediaeval learning.

The new sciences and the new professions? What did they need erroneous Aristotle for? No distinguished man ever went near them. In the 19th century they came back on another basis. You know,



"you get pale cheeks and you die"

beginning gradually, first elitist, and then to being industrialized. I'm gathering together many threads here. It seems that you are generally optimistic about the human spirit. People do rebel against alienated situations. They don't tolerate them.

**reporter** They can't tolerate them! What do you mean "don't"? They can't. I mean, you die. Literally, you die. You get pale cheeks and you die. You get mononucleosis, and you die.

**reporter** What do you think of things like the *New York Times* editorial and even the *Montreal Star* editorial after this Bethel thing, groping for profound glimpses into this Bethel thing?

**goodman** I don't think there is such a profound glimpse. I think it's simple. You don't need to grope for it. Like I said, it's a religious pilgrimage. Like I said, if you read the *Canterbury Tales*, what's the difference? It's just like the *Canterbury Tales*. Is it relevant that it's these people, the Establishment People, who are praising this kind of youthful activity? This particular kind of youthful activity?

**reporter** You say "Establishment People" as if they were some kind of baboons. They're not?

**goodman** They are human beings who are moved by an important event. But they don't know what they are approving of.

**reporter** But they are confused. You see, when you say "Establishment People," you go on the assumption that there is some concerted monolith which has got some furdamentally conspiratorial goal. There's no such thing.

The situation in a country like Canada or the United States is not totalitarian. I mean, it might be worse. That's not the question. You see, there is such a thing as a "system," but it isn't the system that the young people think. It's a fantastically complicated network with endless defences in depth. Just what it is *not*, is a concerted idea. You know, with conspiratorial goals. You see, it may be much worse the way it is than the other way, but it isn't the same thing. The irony is still that these people, who will praise these events are going to be the same people who will defend the absurd school system.

**goodman** Of course. Certainly. So what's new? So what else is new? Is it unknown that the very people who, say, 200 years ago, would go and bind up the wounds of the poor etc. would then pay for mercenary soldiers to go kill the American colonists, the Vietnamese, whoever you want?

Take the moonshot—fantastic care which was taken that nobody got hurt. Over that whole program there was one accident. When the money died, everybody was horrified. But it's exactly the same Air Force which is dropping the napalm. You mean, that they are hypocrites? No. They are confused human beings.

**reporter** But they are not "responsible citizens" either.

**goodman** No. Because they are confused. It is their duty (since they have so much power) to be less confused. That's true. I agree with that. Sure. Sure. That is irresponsible. If you have a lot of power you should use it better. I would agree with that. There's no question about that. They should use it better.

Paul Goodman, poet and novelist, communist-anarchist-pacifist, is today a father figure of the New Left. He resides in New York City and has a summer residence in North Stratford, New Hampshire.

## diary continued

sambly that the McGill Senate should not adopt a policy of taking positions on political issues.

**THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1969.** Stanley Gray's students pass a motion declaring that "we will continue our classes with him regardless of the McGill Administration's final decision, and resolve that under no circumstances will we accept any substitute."

One hundred McGill faculty, in an individually signed letter to *The Montreal Star*, place the debate on a public platform. The letter questions "the wisdom shown by the administration of McGill University in relation to the proceedings against Stanley Gray."

Among the signatures is that of Gray's own Chairman, J. R. Mallory. This letter, however, is quickly countered by a one-page spread in the following Saturday's *Montreal Star*, bearing a six-hundred signature vote of confidence for the Principal. The sciences, medicine, dentistry and engineering figure prominently. A biochemist lends his signature to both petitions.

An evening meeting of MAUT erupts into chaos after a motion is passed condemning disruption in the University. Some faculty members walk out, while eight of them later produce a statement:

"We are ashamed that the MAUT has departed so radically from its proper function as a progressive association concerned with the well-being of the University."

They invite "other dismayed fa-

culty to discuss possible alternatives."

**FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1969.** Agreement is finally reached on an arbitration procedure. Arbitrators have now to be chosen, mutually acceptable to each party. Gray announces his intention to present a "political defence" to the arbitration committee, on the grounds that "disruption" of meetings of the Board of Governors and the Nominating Committee of the Senate was justified.

**WEDNESDAY, MARCH 5, 1969.** "Gray is a Quebec issue," says Charles Prevost, head of U. of M. Syndicat des Professeurs in an interview for a campus newspaper.

**WEDNESDAY, MARCH 12, 1969.** Agreement is reached on the arbitration Committee's composition.

Chosen are: André Morel, Faculty of Law, University of Montreal. Noel Mailloux, Department of Psychology, University of Montreal. Walter Tarnopolsky, Faculty of Law, University of Windsor.

**WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 1969.** Senate approves the establishment of a committee to review regulations governing appointment and tenure of teaching staff. Student members are to serve on the committee.

McGill Vice-Principal (Administration) Robert Shaw assures the community that arrangements are being made to protect its property from the March 28th "Opération McGill," a

demonstration advocating a "McGill Français." Stanley Gray is one of the organizers of the march.

The *Suburban*'s editorial of the day reads:

"But what about Stanley Gray? This is no mere 'dedicated' young man, fighting the cause of justice... Stanley Gray is professionally trained and indoctrinated to be an activist—to create dissension, to divide and conquer. That is his mission, and he has been trained to do just that."

**MONDAY, MARCH 24, 1969.** The President of The McGill Students' Society and leaders of four campus associations denounce the organizers of Friday's coming demonstration as not being "sincerely in favour of awakening McGill to the reality of Quebec." The march, they all claim, "is intended to evoke a violent reaction and to cause a race riot between Anglophones and Francophones, in order to promote a narrow brand of nationalism."

**WEDNESDAY, MARCH 26, 1969.** Arbitration hearings commence in the open at McGill Law Faculty's Moot Court, Chancellor Day Hall. Admission is by ticket, and the Courtroom holds 184 spectators. About sixteen observers are present for the start of the hearings. One some days there will be a mere handful, sometimes none.

**FRIDAY, MARCH 28, 1969.** Ten thousand (fifteen thousand, five thousand) march on McGill; Stanley Gray is in the front line. Fifteen

hundred Provincial and Montreal Police guard the campus, while three helicopters hover overhead. After the march, 41 persons are arrested and some people wounded.

According to the newspapers costs for the police action approaches \$100,000. *La Presse* comments: "On a ouvert un débat qui sera long et dont l'issue reste incertaine."

Throughout the first part of April the hearings progress slowly and laboriously. Gray and his lawyer, Jacques Desmarais, protest that the procedural decisions of the Committee are based on political views which are opposed by Gray and which are hindering the lecturer in presenting any defence based on political motives. Dr. Tarnopolsky, the Committee Chairman, informs the defendant that "the political judgement is not ours to make." The Committee will not be influenced, he says, by questions such as the democratic or undemocratic nature of the University.

**TUESDAY, APRIL 15, 1969.** National media announce Gray's Canada Council Award of \$5,500. An opposition MP, W. Dinsdale, from Manitoba, raises the question of the award in Ottawa's House of Commons. State Secretary Pelletier defends the Council's decision on the grounds that "An individual's politics has no bearing on his acceptability to the Council..."

**THURSDAY, APRIL 17, 1969.** A group of McGill staff members announce the organization of a union

for the McGill academic staff. "Some of us will remain in MAUT, but we recognise the need for an organization which is better able to deal with the new situation and problems before us," declares its organizing committee.

Their intention is to affiliate the group with the Confederation of National Trade Unions.

**WEDNESDAY, APRIL 23, 1969.** Gray is told by the Tribunal that no final decision on the arbitration can be made before July.

**THURSDAY, APRIL 24, 1969.** McGill Senate approves student representation on the faculty selection committees which will recommend nominees for five deanships. Until now the Board of Governors has appointed faculty deans for five-year terms on the recommendation of the Principal.

**TUESDAY, APRIL 29, 1969.** Although the Tribunal has previously specified its concern with "verifiable facts" and not with political motivation, it decides that documents, articles and testimony relating directly to Gray's opinions and motivations may become relevant, in addition to testimony, documents and articles which help to describe the atmosphere at the time of the alleged offenses.

**FRIDAY, AUGUST 15, 1969.** The Arbitration Committee makes its final judgement:

"For reasons discussed we come to the conclusion that there is sufficient ground for disciplinary action."

Soon after the judgement, Principal H. Rocke Robertson issues the following statement:

"When the University and Mr. Gray agreed to the composition of the Arbitration Committee and to submit our differences to it we also agreed to abide by its decision and that is exactly what the University will do.

Mr. Gray stands dismissed and has so been notified."



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